NEW TIMES

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May 28-June 3, 1991

21

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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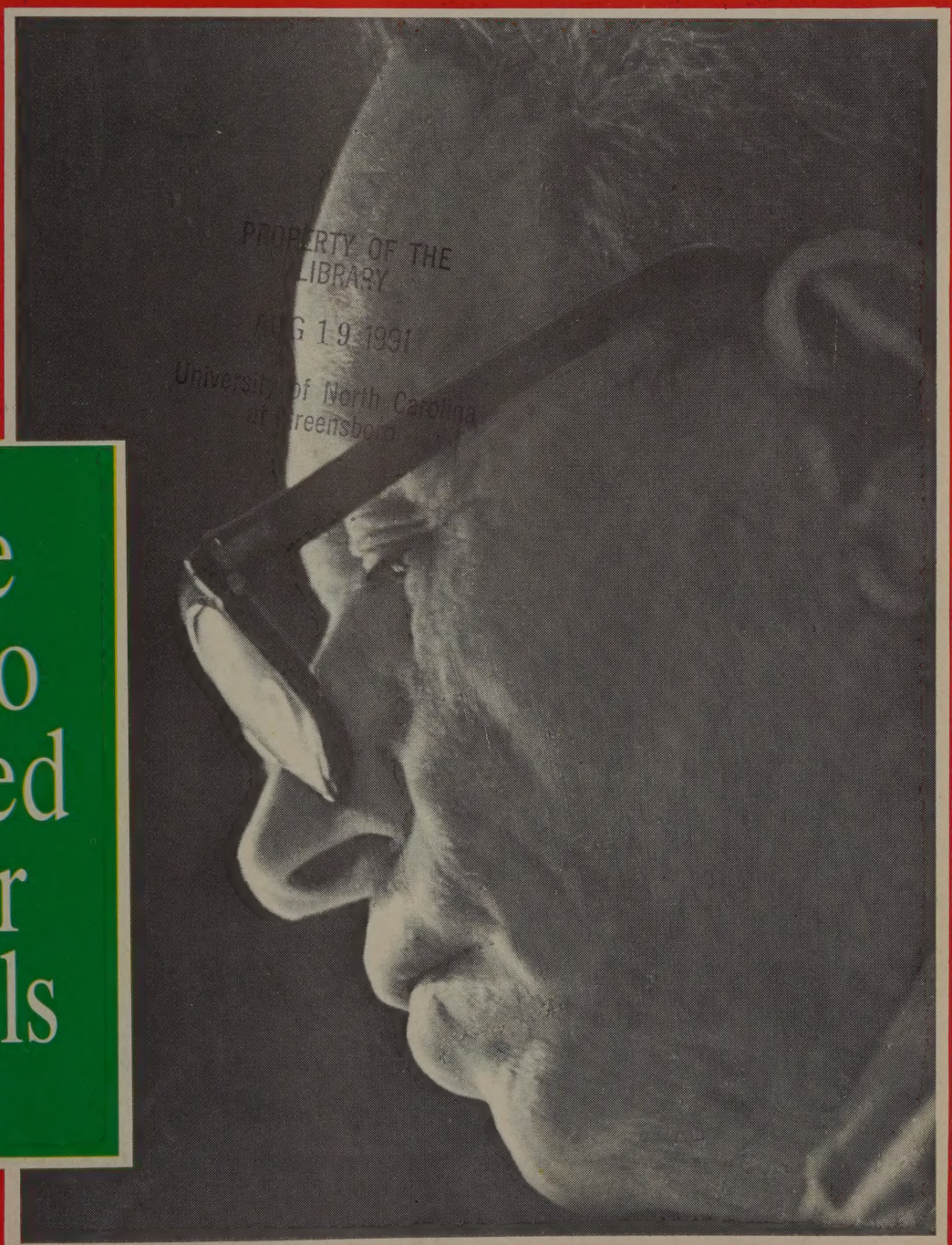
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He who saved our souls

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A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

No. 21, 1991
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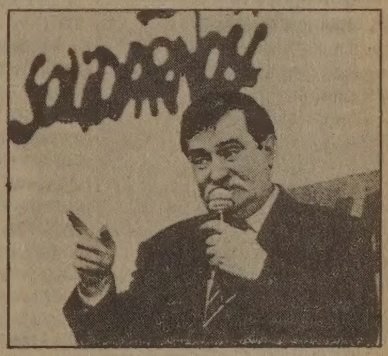

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From our mailbag

■ The conversation of Marshal Akhromeyev with *New Times* journalists gives one many causes for sorrowful reflection. If this is how an officer with combat experience in the Great Patriotic War, Marshal of the Soviet Union, People's Deputy, the man who has lived a long life and seen a lot and is always ready to take part in the discussion (which makes him attractive for me) reasons, what is going on then under the service caps of army officials who either on secret orders or requests from self-styled "salvation committees" are ready to throw the entire army to defend the "honour and dignity" of 29 People's Deputies of Russia?!

As for myself, the Soviet Army reminds me of Turgenev's village elder – "a big man with enormous fists." The threat of an immediate attack has evaporated, the defeated enemies are sending food parcels to the impoverished veteran victors, and brothers from the "socialist camp" politely tell us that we have been staying with them for quite some time and now we mustn't overstay our welcome! The Marshal seems to know all of this, yet he states that "there have remained the state interests of the Soviet Union and there has remained the socialist option of the Soviet Union that must be defended. But the People's Deputy should understand that the word "option" has acquired its true sense only three eyars ago, and in the 20th century not only our country has decided in favour of the "socialist option," but also the Germany of 1933 (by the way, it was really an option), Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. And Kampuchea straight off has decided in favour of the "communist option." In my view, state interests and the socialist option are somewhat different things. A state is a territory on which live people who have a right to re-elect the government if it has failed to live up to the expectations of the people.This is called democracy, the sovereignty of the people.

Had Marshal Akhromeyev tried to look at our world with an "unarmed" eye, he would have seen that wherever the people had decided in favour of their fateful "socialist option," international and interethnic conflicts flared up. In their day Bolsheviks turned "an imperialist war into a civil war." And this war against the citizens of their own country is going on to this day. It is terrible to think that today our "jobless" army may find itself a job and a way of venting its irritation by waging an armed struggle against its own people in order to defend some mythical "achievements of socialism."

Alexander Rubinin
artist, corporal in the reserve
Moscow, USSR

■ I must tell you something that will make you happy: after 35 years of receiving your magazine on subscription I am going to throw into the stove all issues of your magazine without reading them. Just think how easy it was for you to change your colours! The idea of socialist justice had existed long before Marx and Engels, and it will outlive us all, such people as your author Leonid Vasilyev all the more. This author will help you to lose your subscribers much faster than the two-fold price increase. When it brought grist to your mill you bent down before the pseudo-communist party, and now you began to throw mud at it. It's a pity I don't have time to leaf through the files for the past years – I am sure I would come across some articles by Leonid Vasilyev in which he glorified the CPSU and its "leader," his namesake – and I called him "monkey" as early as 1975.

Tell Leonid Vasilyev that I have to institute criminal proceedings against him, accusing him of fascism for it follows from his articles that Europeans are a superior race and we Asians are second-rate people. True, in

Latvia did not have its own Katyn

■ The material by Lev Yelin, "The man who knows the truth about Katyn" (No. 17/91) continued the series of *New Times* articles on the Katyn tragedy. Our newspaper *Cina* wrote about the fate of Polish soldiers who in the fall of 1939 fled from German and Soviet troops to Latvia and were interned there. In the past nobody talked about the poor Polish refugees in Latvia: the press and diplomats of independent Latvia also knew how to keep silent.

Journalists W. Kraewska and U. Lasmanis wrote that in September 1939 in independent Latvia camps for the interned Polish soldiers were built in Daugavpils, Liepaja, Litene, Lilaste, Cesis and Ulbrok. In those years our press wrote very little about it. I think the reason for this was Latvia's neutrality that was proclaimed on September I, 1939. Latvia concealed the number of prisoners trying not to hurt Hitler's morbid pride, and maybe fearing Russians, although at that time no one could guess what the intentions of the Soviets were.

A 1939 Christmas party in an internment camp for Polish servicemen

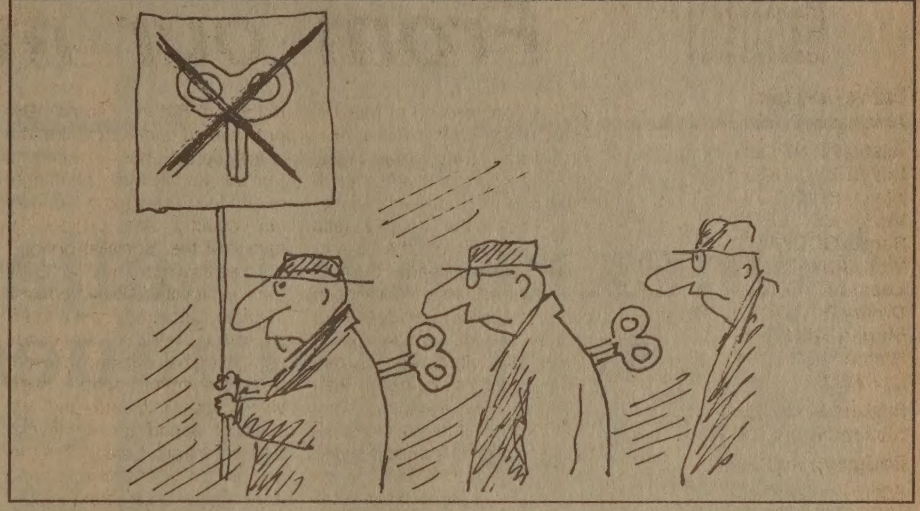
There are different lists of prisoners held in a camp in the vicinity of Daugavpils: 254 soldiers and frontier guards, 103 soldiers, 122 sergeants and corporals,

The army is a "big man with enormous fists"

I was ordered to be happy

"We Asians are second-rate people"

THE WAY I SEE IT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

Europe people don't become habitual drunkards, but there are a lot of drug addicts there. And don't they kill their presidents and stick knives in their ministers? Do you call that a civilized people? And what about their thieves and prostitutes? Nowadays everything is blamed on Marx and Lenin. Soon he will be held responsible for the uprisings led by Pugachev and Razin!

D. Labareshnykh
Irkutsk Region, USSR

■ The note by my townsman Lugovskoy (No. 7/91) reflects the stereotypes that continue to hold sway in the party. They are characteristic of the entire party press in our region which is controlled by the Party Regional Committee and the Party District Committee. These stereotypes are characterized by an extremely negative attitude towards the student movement in the republic that late last year organized in Kiev a political hunger strike. The main idea of the stereotype is simple: if a movement does not depend on the Communist Party it can be controlled only by dark forces. The author cannot believe that grown-up, albeit young people can be an independent political force, that they are capable of working out an independent programme and choose their own method of political struggle. Lugovskoy forgets that the action of the students was only a part of the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian people with the policy of the V. Masol government that in the end has led to its resignation. Thus, one could hardly talk here about illegal actions of the students against the "lawful government."

No good at all is also the stereotype: in those laces where communists preserved their power people live almost in paradise, and in the places where "democrats" came to power people nearly starve. Miners went on strike in the regions where communists are at the helm not because life was good there. And in our region too, where communists are in power and (as Lugovskoy writes) where concentrated the most healthy forces of the nation, the stores are quite empty. Even after the price hike.

S. Volin
history teacher,
member of the CPSU
Sumy Region, USSR

■ I would like to respond to the author of the article "Just between us women" (No. 5/91).

One could call Natalya Morozova a free woman: she says what she thinks and believes in what she says. Probably, this unshakeable faith of a fanatic gives her the right to admonish others in such a condescending tone.

I was born and grew up in the same country with N. Morozova. I was not as happy as she was: I lived not in a big city, but in the forgotten, profaned and trampled Russian village. I also knew other women who were not like the author of the article. In the evenings they did not write articles about Stalin and communism, but cried because there was nothing to eat in the house. Why doesn't Morozova write an article about that?

I was humiliated and deceived, I was ordered to be happy, that is, to be submissive and keep silent. To keep silent? Why during my entire life in the USSR nobody asked me, "and do you agree with what we are doing?" Keep silent. And don't ask questions.

V. Gerin
Sydney, Australia

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

257 officers and corporals plus a separate list of 176 officers.

In December 1939 the internees were questioned as to where they would like to go. There is an order by the assistant with the army headquarters General Buck. He advised the commander of the 7th Sigulda Infantry Regiment to explain to the prisoners that there existed a possibility to go to Germany, Russia and Lithuania and that there were certain problems with going to neutral countries. Then appeared the lists of those who wished to go to Germany among whom there was not a single officer. At that time 421 people wanted to go to the USSR.

There is a plan of the camp in Liepaja – it was guarded by 30 Lettish soldiers and officers. According to the camp security instructions the guards should not talk to the prisoners and in case of an escape should use weapons after warning the escapers two times. The prisoners in the camps were given the same food as soldiers in Latvian army. They received parcels and books, and were issued sheepskin jackets, mittens, high boots, blankets, soldiers' blouses, pants, shirts, underwear and handkerchiefs. The prisoners worked on farms and helped peasants. One can see that the camps had an unusual routine from the document that allowed the internees on their "word of honour" to visit their families that also fled to Latvia. Those who fell ill were treated at a military hospital in Riga.

The interned pilots in the camp led by the barrack's leader beat up those who wanted to go to Germany. The barrack's leader was not punished severely only because in 1920 he participated in the liberation of Daugavpils from the Bolsheviks. Despite the Poles' hostile attitude to Germans, 427 people went to Germany. To go to neutral countries, for example to Sweden, one needed money. And almost two thirds of Polish servicemen went to the USSR. The card index contains the following entry next to their names: "Turned over to the representative of the Red Army." We even know the name of one of such representative – Mosolov. He worked for the NKVD.

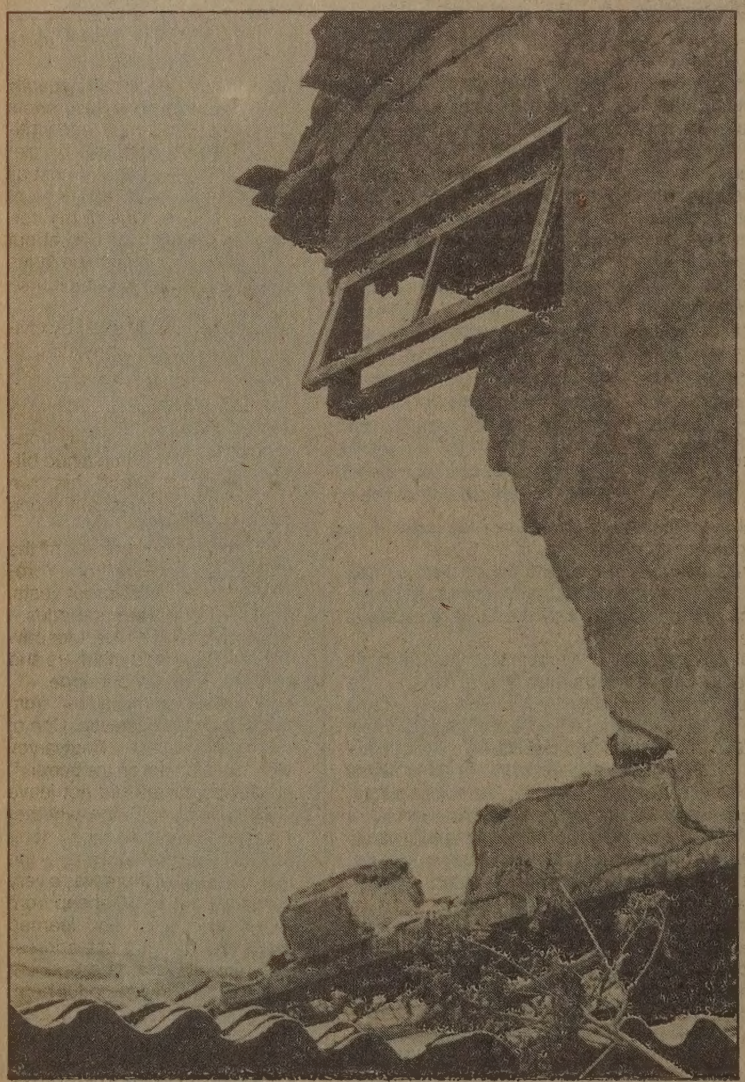
The Poles who found refuge in Latvia evaded the fate of their comrades who were shot near Smolensk in April 1940. And what has happened to those interned officers of the Polish army who at the end of 1940 fell into Beria's clutches?

Ivars Rozenbergs
Jelgava

HOT SPOT

Armenia-Azerbaijan: the war continues

A battlefield report



The village of Berkaber after the May-1 shelling *Photo by author*

Nikolai Kalinkin

All Soviet media are strangely reluctant to reveal the truth about the horrors reported from Yerevan and Stepanakert by phone. The society Memorial has sent a group of Human Rights Centre observers on a fact-finding mission to the region. I was one of the members of the group.

One day before my arrival in Yerevan two colleagues from Memorial landed in the airport of Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh, where they were shocked by the number of internal troops and armed men wearing the black uniform of the Azerbaijani OMON (special-purpose riot police).

OMON troopers went through the luggage of my colleagues with a fine tooth comb and even used a metal detector for a bodily search.. Then they checked their domicile registration and that was all: Muscovites are unconditionally barred from entering Stepanakert and are sent back to Moscow. One of their companions on the Moscow-bound plane was an Armenian who had arrived in Stepanakert together with the Memorial group. His lips were beaten into a pulp and he kept a handkerchief against his mouth in order to stop the flow of blood.

Says Lt.Col. Amirkhanyan, chief of the Idzhevan police:

"The shelling of villages situated along the border with Azerbaijan has been going on for over ten days already. T-72 tanks, AA guns and mortars have been used. Houses have been ruined and people wounded in the villages of Kirants, Tsakhkavan and Berkaber.

"Two villages were sieged in the Idzhevan district. The village of Voskepar is under a tight siege in the neighbouring Noyemberyan district. The only path leading to that village is blocked by two tanks, which open fire without warning. Even police cars come under fire. On May 1 a car was fired at and burned. The driver was a young man and he managed to escape from the blazing vehicle.

"A unit of internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry used to be stationed in there, but unexpectedly it was ordered to withdraw. Meanwhile, the border villages were

shelled by the Azerbaijani forces and the 4th Army of the Transcaucasian Military District.

"When people saw that the internal troops were pulling out, leaving them unprotected, they encircled and disarmed the troops as the unit passed through Dilizhan. The troops voluntarily surrendered machine guns and four armoured personnel carriers to the people understanding what was going to happen, who was right and who was wrong...

"The republican leadership in Yerevan categorically forbids us to fire if fired at. But I will shoot if they storm our villages. I must protect the lives and dignity of people living in this district."

Voskepar

We reached the village of Voskepar by a narrow path winging through a mountain forest.

After we finally made it to the village we were shocked by a parade of gunships continuously circling above the village. We could easily see the armaments mounted on the gunships: one machine gun and two missile launchers on each.

Most of Voskepar is situated on a picturesque mountain slope. The rest of the village occupied by the army and the Azerbaijani OMON is situated in the valley and the bottom of the opposite slope. In the occupied part, there is a church, the school which is now the headquarters of the OMON, the abandoned vegetable patches, a farm where cattle stands unmilked and unfed, and several dozens of houses. When we came to Voskepar, one of the houses was ablaze and another was almost completely destroyed by fire. Standing by the ruin was the man who lived in it, who had been building it with his own hands for over a decade. The hope to live the rest of his life as a free man on his own patch of land had gone up in flames together with the house. Five more houses caught fire during the one hour and a half that we watched the occupied part of Voskepar. Army and OMON troopers, the latter's black fatigues especially visible against whitewashed walls, were calmly walking past the blazing houses making no attempt to put out the fires. Were the houses set able in order "to disarm the unlawful armed groups"?

Using binoculars we could easily see a couple of dug-in tanks and something covered with a camouflage net. The local people said that something was an artillery piece. As a result of the shellings seven houses were destroyed. Through the ruined wall of one such house we managed to take a picture of a landing gunship immediately surrounded by people in black fatigues. One more OMON trooper stepped out from the gunship.

It was unsafe to walk through the village. We had a chance to feel it after dusk: we stopped counting shots after we heard a dozen. Army and OMON troopers did not seem to expect any shooting from the Armenian side and looked confident of their safety. I have already noted that the black uniforms of the OMON are very well visible against the white walls. The troopers assembled in large groups and moved about carelessly: they were easy targets. My colleagues also saw children there, apparently from the neighbouring Azerbaijani village of Nizhnyaya Askipara. A similar picture could be seen in the village of Berkaber: as long as we were there a black-uniformed OMON trooper was peacefully fishing on a river bank.

Peace will not return soon... *Photo by Dmitry Borko*

The main square of "the free part of Voskepar" is the venue of unending gatherings of the village men. Any time they heard the roar of an approaching gunship, they tried to hide behind the trees fearing the gunship would open fire. I saw confusion, curiousity, anxiety in their eyes – anything, but not fear or hatred. It is not yet time for hatred. Almost all men had served in the Army, "the school of life" as it is sometimes called in this country, many have sons serving in the army now. How can they hate the army?

"Don't fail to tell what they are doing to us here when you're back in Moscow!" the men said, hoping that if Moscow knew everything, justice would triumph. If only this were so...

Militants from Voskepar

"Whom do you call militants?"

"In principle, we call so all special armed units formed by the Armenian Interior Ministry."

"But such units enjoy an official status and are controlled by the government."

"For the armed forces such units are... (pauses to think) informal."

"Because they are not controlled by Moscow?"

"For us, they are informal..."

(From a conversation with a high-ranking army officer.)

Who are the militants of Voskepar?

First, the uniformed police armed with submachine guns. Policemen readily showed us their IDs – genuine documents with photographs and stamps and anti-counterfeit markings – worn out by frequent use through many years. Almost all policemen have helmets but bullet-proof vests are in short supply. One of my colleagues who knew a thing or two about arms inspected some submachine guns and did not find any evidence of their having been fired from.

Local men can be distinguished by civilian clothes and armament consisting of shotguns which might have easily belonged to their grandfathers.

They call themselves militants. One of them, a 50-year-old father of two sons serving in the Soviet Army complained bitterly that the way things stood, his own sons might be fighting against him, taking aim at him from the gunships.

In the evening a dozen troopers of the Armenian OMON came down from Yerevan. They had helmets, bullet-proof vests, Kalashnikov assault rifles and grenades – the full combat outfit. Unlike their Moscow counterparts, they had good manners and spoke the standard Russian language.

There were also two "commanders" from either the district centre or Yerevan. One of them had a WW2-vintage Degtyaryov machine gun with rust marks on the barrel.

A dozen of aged villagers did not leave Voskepar. It is difficult to judge whether they had been right or wrong in their decision to stay. They stayed, and this is the way they wanted it. One of them was a very old woman, someone stole 30 sheep from her. As she passed by us and learned about the purpose of our visit, she addressed us with a short passionate speech, which I would like to reproduce in full here:

"What Gorbachev, eh? Where's Gorbachev? No Gorbachev! Gorbachev no! Armenia is a hero! Azerbaijani is a hero! Russian is a hero! All people is a hero! What is it all about, eh? What law? I die soon. No

bread. No sugar. No nothing. Now look at me. Three times Azerbaijanis: boom, boom, boom, boom! Eh? What's that? What's that?" And she went on to attend to her chores and soon disappeared behind a cliff. The Azerbaijanis do not shoot at her.

The smooth-talking colonel

We had not spent as much as twenty minutes at the checkpoint of the 7th Army Headquarters in Yerevan when a private came to escort us to Colonel Sorokin, head of the political indocrination section of the 7th Army of the Transcaucasian Military District.

Col.Sorokin rose from his chair to greet us, shook hands with us, offered us to be seated and started telling us about the hardships of the army service.

"The situation worsened approximately on May 1. Before that any serviceman enjoyed respect of the local people and the leadership of Armenia displayed understanding of our problems and needs. We cooperated in organizing the Victory Day celebrations and in coordinating the draft. Now the situation is different. You can see that the HQ of the 7th Army has become a fortress: we've got sentries on each floor, gun-ports and weapon emplacements all around. We are getting ready. I think the aggravation on the border will make things harder here as well. All our units are on a stand-by alert."

It is easy to understand Col. Sorokin from the human point of view: life without respect, in a worsening atmosphere, mutual mistrust and growing hostility cannot be nice. Col. Sorokin went on to say:

"At 1 p.m., May 1, 1991, a company of internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry was stopped in Dilizhan. Four armoured personnel carriers were captured and 66 troops were disarmed. CO of the regiment Kolmogorov came to their rescue, but was disarmed as well. He pulled the safety catch from a grenade and tried to escape, but was captured as well. Maj. Razumovsky and some troops arrived on a T-72 tank and an armoured personnel carrier to get the CO out. They were also encircled and disarmed, the tank and the carrier were captured. At 7.30 p.m. on May 4 Col. Petrov, commander of the division, was captured in Dilizhan. Petrov was brought back a day later, after we negotiated with the Supreme Soviet of Armenia."

When I asked the colonel how the captured officers were treated, Sorokin said that Kolmogorov had been beaten up. I asked him to be more specific. It turned out that Kolmogorov was not exactly beaten up, but was treated in a rude manner. Remembering the pulled out safety catch I did not ask the colonel about the reasons for such rudeness. Then we talked about Col.Petrov: "They wanted to take him to a border village so that he saw the opposing side shooting (Sorokin did not specify what the opposing side was – **N.K.**). In other words, they wanted to make a living target of the colonel."

An interesting conclusion. First, during his hour-long heart-breaking story the head of the political indoctrination department of the army stationed in Armenia had not once confirmed the fact of the shelling of Armenian villages. There was one even more interesting thing: Sorokin believed it was impermissible to put at risk the life of a Soviet Army colonel, which is right. What is wrong is that the lives of people in border villages is put at risk day after day. The colonel, however, did not seem particularly concerned about that.

"The situation is such that we must first of all think about ourselves, about our honor and dignity." Honestly, I have always thought that the army must first and foremost think about the people, and the people's honour and dignity which the army has the duty to defend. Careful not to disclose my ignorance, I changed the subject:

"Can the army transfer its hardware, say T-72 tanks, to the interior troops?"

"Yes, it can. It can also transfer tank drivers."

"And what if this hardware is used for unlawful ends, how will the army react?"

"This is a provocative question," the colonel observed. "But I shall answer it too."

His answer was lengthy and incoherent. At last he managed to find what he thought was a perfect argument:

"It is not up to us to decide. We are under orders."

After saying a heartfelt good-bye to us, the colonel was kind enough to see us back to the checkpoint. There was much hand-shaking and finally the colonel invited us to be his guests again. Now I want to know one thing: could the colonel have been uninformed about the things that had been going on in Voskepar for six hours by the time of our conversation?

As for us, we learned about them only an hour later...

Conclusion

This story is nothing but notes of a curious traveller. What is going on now between Armenia and Azerbaijan is not an ethnic conflict any longer. The army which is allied to one of the conflicting sides is controlled by the centre and engaged in a punitive operation.

The destruction under the cover of, and often in cooperation with the army, of houses and property of civilians, regular shellings of villages, hundreds of civilian casualties, thousands of refugees... The list of crimes may become endless if the outrage currently committed by the troops or in cooperation with the troops is not stopped immediately, resolutely and honestly. What we have seen in the border villages of Armenia is beyond civilized comprehension.

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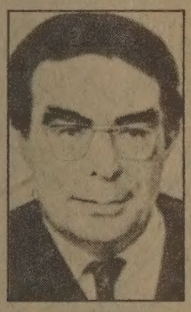
Changing names

When they come to the polls on June 12, the day of the presidential elections in Russia, Leningrad voters will also vote for or against the renaming of their city to St.Petersburg

Naturally, I will vote for St.Petersburg, because I am convinced that cities must go under the names historically known to the country and the whole world. It is absurd to rename Rome, Athens, Moscow or Kiev, giving them new, even worthiest names. However, I have certain doubts about the "St." in the city's old name. Peter the Great called the new city St.Petersburg to glorify his patron saint, but most people living in it associate the city not with the poor fisherman who joined Jesus of Nazareth two thousand years ago, but with the great tsar who founded the city as Russia's springboard to Europe. In the everyday usage the city was known as Petersburg, and the "St." was reserved for formal occasions only. Hopefully, this will be so again after the initial excitement recedes.



Poel Karp

However, the emotions around the renaming are remarkable. The Nobel Prize winner Solzhenitsyn made himself heard from his Vermont seclusion, urging against the restoration of the original name. Solzhenitsyn sided with the last tsar, Nicholas II, and preferred the Russified name, Petrograd, as if Germans, Italians and other foreigners had not participated in the construction and development of the city and is if the city had not been Russia's entryway to Europe. I remember hearing German speech in Leningrad's Vasilyevsky Ostrov when I first came there from Moscow with my parents at the age of eight. Those who insist that Leningrad is the city of Great Lenin are historically erroneous, too: before 1917 Lenin had lived in Petrograd on two occasions for a total of five years and after the revolution he lived in the city for less than a year: from April 1917 to March 1918, spending a total of five-odd years out of his 54-year lifetime in the city. Lenin is the son of the Volga River (he was born in Simbirsk and studied in Kazan), not the Neva. Very briefly put, the debate about the city's name may be lengthy and exciting, provided all other problems have been debated and solved.

One should not think, though, that such debates are useless. For some they can be very useful. Little has actually changed in the six years since it was admitted that there was no way to go on living as we had been. The only thing we have gained is the precious right to repeat the six-year-old revelation. However, much has been renamed. Renamings are passed for real changes and debates about renaming replace debates of reform. Will the black Volga limousines stop whisking CPSU apparatchiks to the Smolny Palace, the seat of the Leningrad Regional CPSU Committee where they get the instructions if the city is renamed? Will there be more vegetables in the shops? Will the local KGB headquarters vacate at least some of thr huge premises it now occupies? Will the money now pouring out of the city start pouring back? The enthusiastic believe in the magic of names. "The St.Petersburg Regional CPSU Committee sounds utterly absurd, I cannot imagine it," said one of them recently. But the Arkhangelsk Regional CPSU Committee does exist, despite the fact that the name of the city glorifies Archangel Michael, the Holy Warrior. While we debate over words, we do not bother to look at what is behind them.

In a similar way society is divided over whether socialism should be preserved or should it be recognized as bankrupt. Political opponents battle with each other, fiercely accusing one another of renegation. And I try to interject: "We have never had any socialism in here! What we had was an embellished state version of serfdom." Let us discuss how to demolish that serfdom, how to give land and rights to people, how to let people work for themselves, and the people will then decide whether they need socialism or not. Others demand a trial of the Communist Party. And I try to object: what other trial do you want when history itself has already pronounced its verdict to communism? Totalitarian communist dominance does not provide for greater labour productivity, any significant technological progress and many other good things. Communism has been tried in many countries, and it has worked in none of them. The matter is not in trying the former leaders who had pinned their hopes on Socialism and Communism (except those who had actually committed crimes). The matter is not in replacing party apparatchiks with new bosses who have hurried to quit the membership, but in overcoming the wretched system, separating state from economy, legislators from government, judges from the police, so that no one could wield all power, so that people were not sieged by the system and so that there would not be new Stalins, Khrushchevs and Brezhnevs in power. This does not seem to concern anyone, no one is suggesting a referendum on abolition of monopolist ministries, granting complete economic independence to factories and plants or asking political parties to give up their billions and to be more unselfish in propagating their ideas. We are changing names, leaving real life in intact misery.

Much has been renamed but little has been reformed

If only there were opened various cultural centres representing Soviet republics and foreign countries so that one could read a fresh newspaper from Yerevan and Baku, Vilnius and Kazan, Frankfort or London. If only we transferred the palaces currently occupied by various party committees and offices to the Hermitage and the Russian Museum turning them into a huge exhibition! We could do much so that our city would not fall into deeper decay, would not impress its visitors only by the fabulous beauty of its cracked buildings. Our city must become what it had been built to be – not a conglomerate of government offices described by Gogol, but a powerful centre of Russian Europeanism, free thinking and perfection.

Chances are that on June 12 most will vote for the renaming. I will, too. After all, one must answer the truth if asked. But there is little hope that the renaming will change the city's life for the better. ■

Presidents and vice-presidents

Shortly before the official deadline for registration of Russia's presidential candidates the situation became simpler: some candidates for presidency became candidates for vice-presidency. The following tandems have been formed: Yeltsin-Rutskoi, Ryzhkov-Gromov, Makashov-Sergeyev. As the experience of Western countries, in particular the United States, shows the happy choice of a vice-president is often a prerequisite of a successful campaign.

The generals of Soviet politics

Remarkably, the main contenders have picked up servicemen as vice-presidents. A general is competing with a colonel. Gromov against Rutskoi.

This unanimity is hardly a chance coincidence and reflects certain deep-going political processes – either politicians have finally understood the importance of the military and started trying to woo the military on their side, or the military themselves have decided to plunge into politics. There is one more aspect to consider: the army is a tremendous force, a gigantic mass of people and it needs a charismatic leader who could keep it under control.

One cannot fail to observe one more interesting detail: all choices of vice-presidents are fitting. General Gromov, the former commander of the Soviet contingent in Afghanistan, has little political experience. As is known, the war in Afghanistan was not exactly popular, but Gromov does not seem to be repulsive to the masses. One thing is certain: Gromov is enormously popular among the military. The general is a media favourite. So far, General Gromov's activity as Deputy Interior Minister of the USSR has not been visible. The only action that is sometimes associated with his name is that the tragic developments in Vilnius on January 13 and all other similar events of this year took place already after the general had been appointed deputy to Boris Pugo, the Interior Minister. Was Gromov in any way involved in those events? This remains a secret. For a significant segment of Russia's electorate the name of General Gromov will be associated with law and order, military valour and glory of the Soviet armed forces. Surely, most war veterans will approve of Nikolai Ryzhkov's choice: the words "a general with combat experience" have a very special appeal to them – after all General Gromov is a real soldier, not like political indoctrination officers from the conservative parliamentary faction Soyuz.

General Makashov would not have been known at all had it not been for his passionate and furious anti-Gorbachev harangue.

Tandems for this country's first presidential race

His vice-president Alexei Sergeyev, professor of economics and the chief ideologue of the United Front of the Working People, does not have anything new to propose. Makashov is dissatisfied with the changes – this is what his election programme is all about.

The new star

Once again, one cannot but pay tribute to Yeltsin's political foresight. His choice of Col. Alexander Rutskoi for vice-president may easily be the happiest of all his recent actions, because the colonel, a new star on the Soviet political horizon, is as bright a political figure as the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia himself. Rutskoi possesses the same advantages as Gromov: he is a combat pilot with an experience of fighting in Afghanistan and horrors of mujahiddin captivity. His popularity among Afghan war veterans may be as great as Gromov's: in the parliament of Russia, Col.Rutskoi heads the committee for the affairs of war veterans and invalids and social protection of servicemen. He also has one advantage over

Gromov: he does not belong to the caste of generals. By virtue of his rank, Rutskoi occupies an intermediary position between the privileged top brass and the less happier junior officers and privates.

Unlike Gromov, in the recent months, especially at the Third Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, Col. Rutskoi has acquired an original political face. He is the leader of the parliamentary faction Communists for Democracy and as such is starting to attract more and more followers in the CPSU. Besides, Rutskoi comes from the Russian heartland city of Kursk and is a man of great energy (proof of that is the rapidly growing influence of Communists for Democracy). Col.Rutskoi possesses a great personal charm and is a happy combination of two images: a staunch democrat and a good guy.

In the next few months Alexander Rutskoi may become the generator of changes in the CPSU. His faction has already initiated the creation of a new public movement, Grazhdanskoye Soglasiye (Civil Concord). It remains to be seen to what extent communism is compatible with the ideals of democracy, but Rutskoi and his followers are a godsend for those CPSU members who, on the one hand, are reluctant to abandon their mother party in distress, and, on the other hand, are depressed by their involuntary membership in the notorious Communist Party of Russia.

Rutskoi appeared at the most critical and crucial moment of parliamentary struggle. A figure like Rutskoi should have been invented had he not existed. In Rutskoi, Yeltsin has acquired just the right man to help him regain the lost confidence of a considerable segment of the CPSU – the democratically-minded Communists who can be the reformer's only allies inside the CP. By picking Rutskoi Yeltsin has demonstrated his preparedness to cooperate with the CPSU in the name of interests of Russia – a point in his favour.

Drawing by Igor Shein

One of the Six

According to the new Russian tradition established by Yeltsin, Vadim Bakatin, a general himself by virtue of his having held the post of Interior Minister, has picked a representative of one of the autonomous republics.

Bakatin has been offered vice-presidency under Yeltsin, but has preferred an independent political game. In my opinion, Bakatin's choice of a candidate for vice-presidency confirms his image and makes his obscure personality clearer. Despite a certain amount of personal charm, Vadim Bakatin has impressed many as an indecisive and dependent figure.

It seems that this time someone had made the choice of vice-president for him. Ramazan Abdulatipov, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, is one of the anti-Yeltsin Six, although maybe the most intelligent of them. He is well educated, a CPSU member, and former functionary of the CPSU Central Committee to boot. He comes from Dagestan and represents an ethnic autonomy. Will this trump card work? The relations between and even inside ethnic autonomies are complicated and one can not yet say that the Bakatin-Abdulatipov tandem will be supported by ethnic autonomies.

The next tandem, Tuleyev and Bocharov, is practically unknown. Aman-geldy Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo regional Soviet, was noted for his emotional and clever speech at the Third Congress of People's Deputies of Russia where he spoke about the problems of striking coal miners. His vice-president, Victor Bocharov, is an entirely obscure figure.

The campaign is already in full swing. How is it going? Not very smoothly. A bomb went off at the headquarters of Demokraticheskaya Rossiya (Democratic Russia). Although investigation has just started and the reasons for the attack remain unclear, in the context of bitter political confrontation everybody thought about a provocative act. Initially, the press said that the blast destroyed the lists of signatures collected for the nomination of Yeltsin for President of Russia, of Popov for Mayor of Moscow and for nationalization of the CPSU property. It turned out later, though, that there were no such papers in the building – they had been transported elsewhere the day before the attack. The attempt to destroy the lists in Moscow would not be expedient, however: in Sverdlovsk alone 140,000 signatures were collected in support of Yeltsin. In connection with the bomb attack against the DR headquarters many have remembered the series of bomb attacks in Riga and Vilnius after which paratroopers were dispatched to the Baltics and the situation there was sharply aggravated. Whether a deliberate attack or not, the blast will facilitate the DR's popularity and even provide some heroic aura for it.

The main concern of the opponents of Yeltsin is to know just the right measure of anti-Yeltsin propaganda. So far the canvassing for the CPSU pet, Nikolai Ryzhkov, is

going on according to the classical scheme. A directive is sent down from Moscow to vote for Ryzhkov. Party apparatchiks at all levels take pains to implement the directive. Nothing ever changes in this country. It has been announced recently that 2 million signatures were collected for Ryzhkov and about 500 thousand for Yeltsin. The 500,000 is as good for nomination as 2,000,000, but the purpose of the announcement was to show Ryzhkov's strength. The well-organized and active support for Ryzhkov is indeed impressive, although transparent: it is not that difficult to collect a lot of signatures in garrisons, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, emphasizing military and party discipline.

When I attended a recent Communists for Democracy gathering, I was impressed by the story of a deputy interior minister of Russia. Initially, he said, the police decided to be politically neutral in the coming election campaign. Finally, though, the police became indignant at the insistent pro-Ryzhkov pressing on the part of the CPSU. The deputy minister said that the police decided to start counterpropaganda. As a result 60,000 policemen of Russia would vote for Yeltsin.

Those who predicted that the main struggle would be between Yeltsin and Ryzhkov, and not Zhirinovsky, who is so confident in his own popularity, seem to have been right. However, although public opinion is an unreliable indicator and only election returns can be the final result, an interesting picture appears: Ryzhkov is supported by at least a part of the army and the CPSU bureaucracy. This support is not enough for him to win, though. The future of this country will not be shaped by the military, although the figure of General Pinochet is becoming increasingly attractive here. Unlike Chile, Soviet generals are not simply generals, but Communist generals, and communism has never produced anything positive in the world practice, even when it was backed by an armed force. The future will depend on the votes of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The day of June 12 will define the future of Russia and largely that of the Soviet Union. The political struggle will not stop after June 12, but on that day we will be choosing a way to follow. After June 12 we will have no one to blame but ourselves. After June 12 we will fully understand the basic wisdom of democracy: "Every nation deserves its government."

Marina Shakina

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Russia in the Union, the Union in Russia

I do not believe in the mission of Russia as the pioneer of a new road for mankind, and I do not believe either that it can be turned into a "small comfortable republic"

Leonid Ionin

Some time ago I received a letter from abroad. Instead of the usual, Moscow, Soviet Union, the envelope bore a different address, Moscow, RSFSR, which stands for Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The sender, who closely follows the developments in our country, hastened to write the new address. Properly speaking, there is no reason for surprise, because the RSFSR has existed for over 70 years. It arose on the ruins of the tsarist empire and became the nucleus of the USSR when, acting on the basis of the treaty of 1922, the republics – former parts of the Russian Empire – agreed to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A shy empire

Strictly speaking, it was not a restoration of the empire. The Union was established by republics with newly acquired statehood, in some cases for the first time in their history. The Russian Federation was one of them, the first among equals. It enjoyed pre-eminence not only in the economic and political spheres and territorially. The RSFSR initiated the founding of the Union and determined its economic and political structure.

That is why formally there are no grounds to talk about the Soviet Union as an empire. It consists of Union and autonomous republics with their own capitals, administrative bodies, parliaments, constitutions. Moreover, each Union (constituent) republic has the right to secede from the USSR.

It was quite evident, at the same time, that the republics onjoyed "false" independence. The legislative and administrative systems were unified while the rights proclaimed in the Constitution could not be exercised. Any step could be taken only with the permission of Moscow. The Soviet Union in fact looked like an empire.

The sway of the Communist Party imparted an imperial character to the Union. Real power was exercised by the party structures which were not written down in the Constitution. The Political Bureau made decisions and the first secretaries – a sort of vicegerents or governor-generals – put them into effect by force and persuasion in every corner of the Union.

In political parlance there are two kindred terms – power and rule – though they do not coincide in their content. Sociologists and political scientists have long been arguing in vain on the difference between the two words. I would like to stress one, but very essential difference: power means direct and open authority while rule can be masked and exercised in a shy manner. For instance, the Constitution says that the Supreme Soviet shall be the highest body of state authority of the Union or any other republic. In practice, all matters are decided by party bodies. But more than that, they are "put through" the Supreme Soviet. This "railroading" is necessary because rule feels shy and is aware of its illegality and, in the final account, of injustice.

In the Russian Empire the autocracy ruled openly, unashamed of the realization of its legitimacy. The Soviet Union proved a shy empire, ashamed of itself, that is, it was not an empire in the true sense of the word.

That is why all references to history are inappropriate. It is argued that since all empires crumbled (Austro-Hungarian, British, and so on) the Soviet Union must disintegrate too. The latter does not at all follow from the former for considerations of elementary logic. The fact that the sun has risen every day does not logically mean that it will rise tomorrow. Such a conclusion cannot be drawn either in view of the structures of these state formations.

A shy empire can change in two directions – either throw off all shame or renounce what it should be ashamed of. In the first case it would mean an open party and military dictatorship and in the second case, a return to the idea of the Union in the original sense of the word.

The fall of Russia

The role of Russia has been ambiguous from the very outset. In the Union it was the first among equals, and in the shy empire, it became almost the last among equals. Many facts can be cited to prove the point. For instance, Russia did not have a capital of its own, for Moscow is the capital of the USSR, and the place where the government and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR are "situated." Russia did not have its own academy as well as many attributes of statehood which the other republics had. Till recently it did not even have its own Communist Party, though all other republics had them. Russia could not take pride in the living standards of its population either.

The shy empire ruled over Russia too. This domination was even tougher than in other regions of the country, because the tradition of the Russian state represented a real alternative to the shy domination of the Communists. No wonder that the struggle against the shy empire was to a large extent the struggle for the liberation and self-determination of Russia.

Two facts unexpectedly cropped up in the course of this struggle.

First, communist rule did not eliminate the continuity of Russian state life. The state institutions of the USSR became successors to the state institutions of the Russian Empire. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union succeeded to the Communist Party of Russia founded by Lenin. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR took the place of the Russian Academy of Sciences. There are no grounds either to dispute the role of Moscow as the centre of Russian statehood.

Second, the Russian Federation showed itself to be an empire-type formation. It is not a nation-state. This was clearly revealed by the problem of autonomies which had arisen in connection with the signing of the draft of a new treaty of Union. The status of former 15 Union republics and of autonomous republics within the Russian Federation was defined arbitrarily. As a matter of fact, the criteria for determining the status of this or that entity as a Union or an autonomous republic with limited sovereignty are not clear or do not exist in general. It is evident that the territory, population, traditions of statehood, the time of joining Russia and, lastly, the percentage of the Russian population in one or another territory cannot be used as such criteria.

Indeed, the territory of Bashkiria is several times larger than that of Lithuania.

The same is true of its population. The Kazan khanate has a longer history than Latvia. In the final count, the conquering of Siberia by Yermak is no more "legitimate" than the so-called occupation of the Baltic republics.

The two facts show that the struggle for the so-called state self-determination of Russia can eventually lead to the break-up of the Russian Federation.

The attempts to "oust" the USSR from Moscow and establish the Russian Academy in addition to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the founding of the Communist Party of Russia in addition to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, lastly, the independent Russian presidency have led to a revolt of autonomies. It is a reaction of autonomous entities to the struggle of the Russian Federation leadership against the Union.

It is not a political game of underhand plotting on the part of the central government, as the Russian leadership believes, but a boomerang effect. It turned out that the Union has more subjects than the Russian leadership thought. The Russian leadership did not expect a revolt in its "alternative" empire. It is obvious that the peoples living on the outer fringes and in the central regions of Russia have equal rights to self-determination.

As a result, it turned out that Russia has surprisingly little land of its own. Whenever and wherever Russians came they never found no one's land. It turned out that even St. Petersburg was built no simply on swamps, but in the very heart of Ingermanland, that is, on the land of others in the final analysis.

Let's think it over

The Russian Empire should be neither damned, as was done in propagandistic fervor by Lenin, who called it "a prison of nations," nor idealized without reasoning. It was not free of national problems and contradictions. These problems were tackled inefficiently and slowly. The national policy of the empire had become outdated in the early 20th century.

The founding of the USSR was an attempt to reorganize the Russian state, bring its state structure to conformity with new, more democratic standards of interethnic relations and a new level of national awareness of the peoples who inhabited it.

Equal representation of all peoples in the affairs of the Union, a high degree of national autonomy, all the way to the introduction of statehood for the peoples who had no state traditions whatsoever, the abolition of national discrimination in all spheres of state and public life could become an indisputable achievement.

But simultaneously with the founding of the Union there arose a system of party rule, or what I called a shy empire. This yoke has never eased during the existence of the Union, thereby paralyzing its potentialities.

It is necessary clearly to distinguish between these two aspects – the policy of the Union and the imperial policy, the policy of legitimate power and the policy of domination. The first has a future, while the second is doomed. The prospects of the Union lie in its further modernization and democratization.

The main problem is that in real life the USSR is associated with the Bolshevist empire. Many people believe they can get rid of communism by dismantling the Union and transforming its constituent republics into independent nation-states, with the RSFSR becoming one of them.

It should be a "regulated" dismantling of the Union, to the degree necessary for those who dismantle it, but no more. In practice, however, the break-up of the Union is assuming the character of an avalanche which is difficult to check. Practically all of the republics have their national minorities and autonomies which makes each of them a "small empire."

It turns out that the Russian state, and the Soviet Union which succeeded it, is not an artificial aggregate made up of small parts in the form of republics. The "macro-structure" of the Union is reflected in its "micro-structure." It is impossible to divide republics without breaking the interal condition of each of them.

Drawing by Igor Smirnov

The mission of Russia

Let us not, though, make final conclusions. A number of outlying republics can become independent rather painlessly. For other republics separation from the Union will entail economic troubles, bloodshed and a painful search for new principles of existence. It will come right in the end, but not for Russia which, if it leaves the Union, will simply lose its historical self-identity.

Russia existing "parallel" with the Soviet Union is Russia outside the Soviet Union, and Russia outside the Soviet Union is a country outside its history.

By saying the "Soviet Union" I have in mind the Union which succeeded to the Russian state, no matter how it may be called – a union of sovereign republics or a Eurasian union. In any case, it will be a union of states with Russia at their head, because only Russia links Europe and Asia in it.

I do not believe in the historic mission of Russia as the pioneer of a new road of mankind, whether one takes the religious or communist variant. In exactly the same way I do not believe that Russia can be "taken out" of its history and transformed into "a small comfortable republic." There must exist some Russian teleology, some expediency in the 1,000-year history of Russia as a link connecting countries, peoples and civilizations.

We continue the "dispute about Russia" initiated by Alexander Tsipko, Ksenia Myalo and Poel Karp (Issues Nos. 13 and 16 of this year)

Is socialism dead?

Today some allege that socialism is dead while others urge the Communist Party to launch an offensive, regain its leading role and "defend" socialism

An open letter by Gennady Zyuganov in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossia*, and an article in *Pravda* entitled "Frankly about urgent issues" by Alexander Melnikov (both are members of the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party), acquaintance with some, even truncated speeches delivered at the recent plenums of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation again pose a stern and tough dilemma before ordinary party members: what's to be done?

The dilemma is especially though because the answer to it has to be given in an extremely complicated situation. The anti-totalitarian revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe, perestroika upheavals in the Soviet Union, and the loss by Communist parties of their influence in the capitalist world show that the ideas of socialism and communism have been discredited in the minds of common people.

The parties of the Bolshevist type in Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and on the territory of the former GDR have ceased to exist, losing their power and changing their programmes and charters. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has also given up its leading role de jure, though it is still trying to preserve its Bolshevist "Leninist" character.

The economic and public institutions which seemed to have been buried by social revolutions forever are being restored on the vast Eurasian territory at various rates and in various ways but, on the whole, in one direction. In these circumstances anyone who dares to believe in socialist ideals, urges others not to renounce Marx a priori, and is unwilling to part with his party card often looks like a reckless careerist, a blind communist fundamentalist, a partocrat clinging to power, or a latter-day quixotic dissident unable or unwilling to understand who today has the historical truth and exercises authority.

Nevetheless, I shall try to adopt the stand so unpopular today and join those quixotic anti-realists (and there are not a few of them) who have no intention of renouncing their socialist ideals, though they are not going to play politics and do not belong to dogmatic fundamentalists or the partocracy.

This stand is very unstable. But what is stable today? An ordinary man finds it very difficult to understand the mixture of slogans, charges, promises, denunciations, gossips, assurances and refutations. In disputes reminding one of squabbles it is difficult to understand who is right – the left or the right, or people, not always anonymous, who use the impenetrable ideological armour as a cover to explain any shift in policy by adherence to the socialist choice. What does the socialist choice mean?

What bank are we swimming off?

I am not a philosopher, economist or historian. I am simply a journalist whose professional duty is to gather and compare facts in order to find clear answers to questions posed by life. One of such questions is what has been discredited by our practice – socialism or something else? To be concrete, did we have socialism in general? And, to be more concrete, has it ever existed at all?

Theoretical disputes on this question continue and various opinions are expressed. Some assert that we lived in socialist society, because it did not have private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man. Others argue that there was not even a smell of socialism in this society, because the state and the party apparatus acted as the proprietor. I hold the second point of view. However, I shall try to approach the subject of the dispute from the position which affects the interests of everyone.

The socialist principle of production and distribution – from each according to his ability, to each according to his work – is one of the three pillars on which the founders of scientific communism and their disciples built "a new wonderful world." If one is to believe Stalin, we had in the main built socialism by the time of adoption of the new constitution in 1936. But can any of the veteran workers say today that he has ever been paid according to his labour contribution. He has earned a miserable pension, a glittering medal and the dubious advantage of buying some food products in short supply after standing for several hours in a humiliating queue.

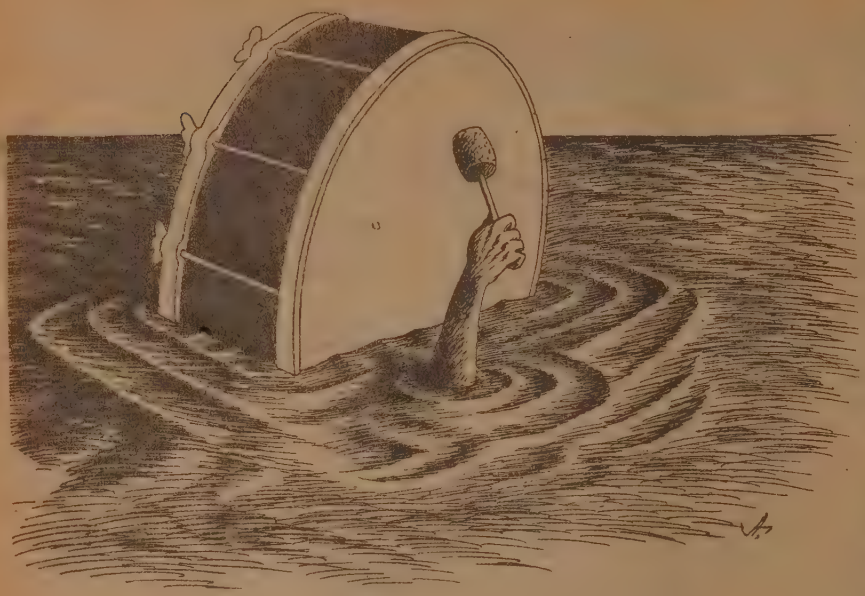
He is told that our country is poor and is unable to supply more food. A rare case when the truth is told. However, it is hushed up that the country is poor not through his fault. The US National Association of Manufacturers once calculated that in any business at any level 80 percent of success depends on the manager and only 20 percent on the personnel. The main blame for our wretched life today lies with leaders, not the working people. Incidentally, the higher-ups have never forgotten about their interests in the payment for their work and the distribution of public funds.

It is difficult to believe the above-mentioned Alexander Melnikov when he tries to make us believe that the low payment of labour can be explained by the unlimited squandering of public wealth by the "new bourgeoisie." The "new bourgeoisie" is a new phenomenon, whereas our people have not received proper remuneration for their work for more than 70 years. For over seven decades those who worked hard earned little. However, those who managed inefficiently and finally led the nation to the squander of its natural resources and moral potential have received more than they deserved.

The artificial structure has collapsed. It has never been socialist and has not been able to solve the main problem of any new society, namely, to achieve higher productivity of labour and ensure for the people a better life and a greater degree of freedoms than the previous regime.

Where are we swimming?

I think for this reason that putting the concept of socialism evolved by generations of the exploited and "socialism" of the Soviet type on the same plane means betrayal of socialism by a Communist, even if



Drawing by Arkady Gursky

the aim – a society of complete social justice – is unattainable, as many people say today. For in this case, too, right are those who consider the movement to the aim more important than the aim itself. The horizon is unattainable too, but man discovered new lands by trying to look beyond it. Even if there is nothing beyond the horizon, man should see it for himself.

Can socialism be built in general if such a talented and industrious people as ours was unable to build it over the past 73 years? I am convinced that socialism **cannot be built**, as it was impossible (and it did not occur to anyone) to build slave-owning, feudal or capitalist society. All these socio-economic systems appeared only when the necessary conditions had ripened for them. Everyone who would decide to **build** a new society until the previous one had not exhausted its possibilities and outlived its day would inevitably expect a failure. Something of the kind has happened to us. Nevertheless, irrespective of man's wishes socio-economic formations have replaced and will continue to replace one another as ineluctably as night comes after day and winter after summer. I am sure that socialism will again emerge in the historical scene. It will be then a product of the natural evolution of human civilization, not a homunculus artificially raised in a "revolutionary" laboratory.

Some can say: Marx again. We are tired of what we have had. Physicists are luckier in this respect than philosophers. No one tries to delete Newton's name from the history of science or to belittle his services because his mechanics was included only as a particular case in Einstein's physics. I think that the historical materialism of Marx, his dialectical method of thinking and his notion of a human being will not lose their significance in the overall picture of the evolution of civilization which the philosophers of our and future times will have to work out yet.

Such a forecast will not evidently suit profiteers who think only of how to line their purses. Nor will it suit the champions of ideological purity, those who are ready to remove an "entrepreneur" immediately in the name of the "socialist choice" and to confiscate the sums amassed by him following the "rob the robber" principle in order to strengthen the material basis for "building a new world," and those who are ready to ban Marx in general in the name of their Christian, national or any other ideology, forgetting that from the standpoint of science ideology is merely a false consciousness replacing genuine knowledge based on comprehensive and unbiassed information and analysis of the current developments. From the standpoint of ideology, for instance, the defence of the collective-farm system looks quite convincing. One can mention the fear of exploitation, the notorious Russian community, class interests, and so on. However, these ideological arguments are confuted by the statement that the countries without collective farms have no food problems.

For this reason I do not fear an "entrepreneur," though I understand that our money-grubbing businessmen cannot be compared with Armand Hammer or Giovanni Agnelli. The shaping of a cultured entrepreneur will evidently take many years. Without this we shall not learn to trade and the shelves of our shops will remain empty. So I am prepared to tolerate a money-grubbing businessman as a necessary temporary evil.

However, I am afraid of champions of ideological purity. These people show their worth not in the production of material wealth and intellectual values, because they cannot work in this sense. They have succeeded in the advancing of slogans which allow the higher-ups to distribute in their favour the material wealth created by others and describe as false, anti-scientific and hostile the intellectual values not comprehensible to them.

What's next?

One would think that what has been said above should frighten people off the socialist ideal. But this did not happen. Hardly any other ideal could endure such severe trials as the socialist one. The collapse of real socialism does not at all mean the end of socialist thought in general. Socialism must not be identified with its Stalin model, just as Marx with the communist and anti-communist vulgarizers of his theory, and the party with the crimes of its previous and the statements of some of its present leaders. Otherwise, the Catholics would have to be blamed for the Inquisition and the persecution of Protestants and dissidents in general. The Orthodox believers would have to be blamed for the persecution of Old Believers and the Shiites for a feud with Sunnites. A lot of blood has been shed in the name of ideological purity. Many believed that by shedding blood they served God.

That is why I am afraid of ideologists, the more so that we are destined to be on one ship and, if the worst happens, we shall have to sink together.

I think there is room for the Communist Party, but not the one is occupies now. The

73-year rule has had a disastrous effect on the party. Having launched the struggle as a champion of the interests of the working people, it has turned into an instrument of oppression, into the pivot of the system created by it, which needs protection from the working people, even with the help of tanks, as it happened in Novocherkassk or Vilnius.

Of course, millions of Communists have nothing to do with all this. They did not take decisions and, in general, they were never asked and they did not even know many things. Relying on their ignorance, silence and obedience, the leaders could make such decisions. But later it became difficult to do that. The last major setback happened in Moscow on March 28. Intimidation did not work. It became clear that the policy of intimidation of the people can allow the party hierarchy to retain power for a year, five or ten years, but that it will inevitably lead to a catastrophe in which the leaders and the party will perish if the latter does not reform itself seriously and return to its original role of the champion of the working people.

The word "socialism" has been thoroughly discredited by our own practice. That is why, I think, a definite stand must be taken by those advocates of the socialist ideal who are prepared not to use the word in vain, not to prattle about the socialist choice at every corner, not to **build** socialism, but only steadfastly uphold the principles of social justice, defending the working people from any oppression, including the state one; not to pursue the party policy, but help elaborate a state policy in the interests of all citizens; not to cling to the lost power and trust, but quietly transfer power to the present-day opponents if they win the election, and fight to regain power by restoring trust not with the help of tanks but by reasonable programmes, honest work and open policy.

Can the Soviet Communist Party effect such a perestroika today? The recent plenums of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party clearly show that an internal struggle is daily stepped up between those who are really interested in reforms and want the CPSU to find a new place in a changing society, and those who would like to regain its former image of the body unreservedly obeying its leaders. The formation of the Communists for Democracy group inspires hopes. For this reason I am not going to leave the party or persuade others to do that.

It is easy to leave the party now. That is not terrible at all. But perhaps it is worth considering whether another decision is possible.

Alexander Didusenko

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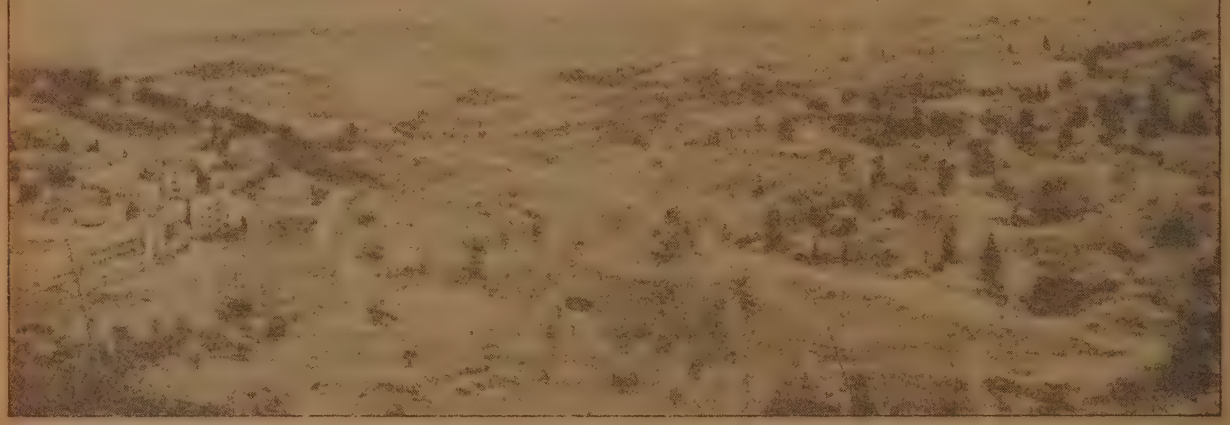
Probing for peace in the Holy Land



Galina Sidorova,
NT special correspondent

Crouched we crawled up one by one along the narrow stairway leading to the inner sanctum of Pyramid of Cheops. Minister Bessmertnykh led the procession. Following him were volunteers from the delegation and journalists. It was hot, damp and stuffy. However, the call of history was irresistable. When the minister finally reached the destination – the tomb of Pharaoh's wife, those following him had to face the obvious: there was no room for all inside the tomb and only one person could climb up or go down along the stairway. The only option left was to make a U-turn and start crawling down without casting as much as a glance on the unique tomb, fabled to be one of the four mystical Centres of Power.

This funny and frustrating episode – we all wanted to see the famous tomb and there was no time for a repeat climb – reminded one of the attempts at reaching a Middle East peace: all of them were halted halfway and then returned to the starting point. Will the peace be reached now when Moscow and Washington have agreed to cooperate in solving the problem?

After the Soviet foreign minister's lengthy Middle East tour, the peace conference remains a problem with many unknown quantities. Will Bessmertnykh and Baker be able to reconcile the enemies while preserving old friends?

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Alexander Bessmertnykh, is fresh from his first trip of the Middle East as one of the two co-sponsors of a peace conference. The seven-day Odyssey to Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria again and Geneva where Bessmertnykh met with the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, was the first instance of a Soviet foreign minister's negotiating directly with all the sides involved in the conflict.

"We must make all states," Bessmertnykh mused at the beginning of the tour, "look at their national interest from the viewpoint of the necessity to seek a solution that could satisfy those states themselves and would be acceptable for other sides, too. The task of the co-sponsors and later the co-chairmen of the peace conference and the task of all external forces is, in my opinion, to create conditions necessary for the peace process to begin: the states which today refuse to talk to each other must be brought to the negotiating table and start a dialogue."

15,000 kilometres later the Soviet minister said he was even more convinced that the view of the Middle East situation from his office in Mos-

cow's Smolenskaya Ploshchad and from Baker's seventh-floor office in the Department of State building in Washington looked "quite similarly." "It is only when you are on the spot that you start seeing the nuances, the tints, the smaller details. It is only when you are on the spot thay you start realizing how deep are the roots of the existing differences, how deep personal antagonisms in relations between leaders can be."

As for me, when I first found myself in the Middle East, the cradle of the modern civilization in all its variety, I felt as if I were in the epicentre of human passions. Any time I climbed one of the hills of Jerusalem or Damascus, or cast a look at the vast plain near the Royal Palace in Amman, I heard the same indignant exclamation: "Look, there are Israelis (Arabs) over there!" It seemed that history has lost its way in the hills of the Holy Land and stopped there in the form of a primeval conflict over land and power, dividing the world into beloved enemies and hated friends. The problems had been caught in a trance. The problems unite and disunite at the same time. Peoples go on living there in the epicentre of conflicts, inheriting and bequeathing their grudges, fears, hatred and hopes for peace.

Double Damascus

During the Kislovodsk ministerial, people from the Baker team told us the Syrians and the Israelis had been the toughest to negotiate with. When asked about the problem of Soviet diplomacy at the beginning of his Middle East tour, Alexander Bessmertnykh replied:

"Chances are that ours will be an entirely different problem," he smiled. "The toughest for us are going to be the Israelis and the Syrians."

"Does this mean that you anticipate difficult negotiations with the traditionally friendly Syria?"

"I do not anticipate any heated discussions. We know each other's positions. I would say that our views almost completely coincide as far as strategy is concerned. However, there are tactical, legal and technical problems. We will be seeking mutually acceptable variants together – the variants that could equally suit the Arabs, the Israelis and the Palestinians. The range of our differences is well known. There is Israel on the one side and Syria on the other. Other states occupy intermediary positions..."

The discussions in Damascus were the most lengthy ones. And while Bessmertnykh was away in some other countries, James Baker took his turn and continued to reason with President Assad of Syria.

"Welcome to Assad's Damascus!" reads an enormous poster in one of the Syrian capital's central squares. The world's most ancient capital welcomes visitors with a great number of the beloved president's portraits and armed men wearing uniforms and muftis with submachine guns carelessly hanging from their shoulders. Damascus welcomes visitors with the stern beauty of the 8th century mosque, ruins of Roman columns, endless rows at the roofed bazaar striking the newcomer by mountains of footwear, fabrics and fruit, and the workshops of goldsmiths.

It is strictly forbidden to take pictures of President Assad inside his palace. Only the president's personal cameramen are allowed to photograph or videotape him, without recording his words, though. About 5,000 Soviet military advisors are working in Syria and new large shipments of Soviet-made armaments are expected.

However, after Syria supported the anti-Iraq coalition in the Gulf war, Damascus has been displaying a greater political flexibility. First, the money from rich emirates started pouring in to Syria. Second, Syria is now looking more attentively at Western Europe and has been gradually convalescing from the allergy towards the United States, while remaining a friend of the Soviet Union.

As they spoke about the prospects of settlement, I felt that my Syrian interlocutors were inclined to make a compromise. They said that if Israel returned at least half of the Golan Heights and pledge to negotiate the future of the other half later on, the situation may change for the better. Another opinion is that the peace conference will not take place in near future: Israel is in for general elections, and probably, the change of government, so is the USA; new people will come to power and the process of Middle East settlement will have to be started from a scratch once again.

As co-sponsors of the peace conference, the Soviet Union and the United States, concentrated on getting that conference started. In principle, the USA and the USSR have managed to reduce the field of disagreement dividing the two main antagonists to the two most formidable problems: the role of the United Nations, and the continuity of the peace conference. Syria has traditionally insisted that the UN be involved in the settlement. Israel opposed a UN involvement, and regarded the UN as an anti-Israeli organization ever since it adopted the resolution in which Zionism was equalled to racism. Syria wanted to resume the conference regularly being attended by the initial participants. Israel believed that after the first general sitting the talks must be a bilateral affair of Israel and the Arabs. Judging by the mood of the Soviet foreign minister and the Secretary of State, they have been able to wrench some concessions from both Syria and Israel on the problem of the peace conference's convocation. However, the co-sponsors were reluctant to reveal their trump cards before the time came.

Anti-surprises in Jerusalem

Sensations were not characteristic of Alexander Bessmertnykh's Middle East tour. No more eventful was the tour of his American counterpart, James Baker, whom Bessmertnykh briefly met in Cairo. It was routine diplomatic work, journalists had to hunt for scraps of information, diplomats had to try and conceal that information the more securely the better, so that the sides, as James Baker put it, should not negotiate via the press. Discretion was especially important, taking into account the number of the participants and the difference between their positions and approaches.

Even the brief visit to Israel, from which so much had been expected, did not produce any surprises. Bilateral diplomatic relations were not completely restored. In fact, no complete restoration of Soviet-Israeli relations could hardly be possible: Bessmertnykh's mission was too specific and dedicated to the delicate problem of a Middle East conference.

I believe that the moment for sensations has been missed. Soviet-Israeli relations are developing fairly smoothly. Chances are that those relations will soon be restored with no special fuss about the event. Besides, the impression is that Israel's approach to the delicate and sensitive issue of settlement has grown more balanced. The last thing Israel is going to do is to fraternize with this country: too many Israelis, former Soviet citizens, still cherish a profound dislike of their former homeland. As for the future, it will vastly depend on how we behave today.

During the Soviet-Israeli talks the sides made it a point not to put each other in uncomfortable situations. They did not put any conditions, and, as Bessmertnykh said, agreed that no side would bring pressure to bear on the other, because the negotiating process can only be successful if both sides are willing to achieve the desired objectives.

However, acute questions were unavoidable outside the negotiating hall. Could the Soviet Union bring political pressure to bear on Israel by stemming the flow of

Jewish emigrants? Implied was the sensitive problem of Soviet emigrants' settling in the occupied lands.

"Emigration," Alexander Bessmertnykh said, "is a process which is a result of democratization of Soviet society. Emigration is a product of new political thinking in domestic and foreign affairs. By the way, Soviet emigrants are headed not only for Israel, but for other countries too. People who decide to leave the USSR for Israel, I believe, deserve to live in peace and prosperity, and they will live in peace and prosperity if a really comprehensive settlement of the regional problems is finally achieved."

Alexander Bessmertnykh. 15,000 kilometres in the Middle East

What King Hussein said

Thus, the main opponents are Syria and Israel. Their approaches to the Middle East settlement are antagonistic and the co-sponsors are trying to pull Syria and Israel closer to each other, so that the conference could start and be fruitful. There are other states, however, which also have a stake in the settlement. These are Egypt – the only Arab country having a peace treaty with Israel and now prepared to accept the co-sponsors' any terms in order not to be left out in the cold, and Jordan – a Middle East melting pot, a fantastic blend of European culture and Oriental traditions. Thanks to the wisdom of its ruler, King Hussein, Jordan has been able to maintain internal stability in the recent years despite the fact that it is located in the very epicentre of all Middle East crises. The capital city of Jordan, Amman, was the only place where I did not see armed patrols in the streets.

I asked King Hussein what role Jordan could play at the peace conference, provided this conference was convened?

King Hussein. "Jordan's is a very special involvement in the problem and this involvement is defined by Jordan's geographical location, history and responsible conduct in this conflict. These factors will also define the role Jordan will play in the future. As for the Israeli-Palestinian dimension of the conflict, we are in the immediate vicinity of it: whatever happens between Israel and the Palestinians, Jordan gets hurt. We feel all consequences, all hardships, all challenges, human sufferings, and threats in which this region abounds..."

King Hussein was the first Arab leader to realize that there was no way to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict but the peaceful one. In his country he managed to control Palestinian extremists – like Lebanon, Jordan is the host of major Palestinian refugee camps – and started to pursue a balanced policy vis-à-vis Israel.

Today Palestinians make up up to 70 percent of Jordan's population. Not surprisingly, Jordanian leaders fear that some compromise solution could hurt the interests of Jordan, that is why they prefer cautious involvement in the preparations for the conference.

Talking to Arafat

The Palestinian problem is the core of the Middle East conflict. Anything related to it rivets a special attention in the Middle East. This special interest, and possibly the fear that some information might be withheld from us, got myself and my colleagues from the Novosti Information Agency involved in a thriller-like story with Yasser Arafat's "arrival" in Amman.

We were in a bar chatting with representatives of the protocol department of the Jordanian foreign ministry and were about to say good night to each other and go to bed. Suddenly our Jordanian friends became suspiciously fussy. We did our professional best and extracted from them the information that Yasser Arafat might land at night in Amman to negotiate with Bessmertnykh. Members of the Soviet diplomatic delegation might easily be the only ones who slept well that night, because they knew for sure that Arafat was not going to arrive in Amman and that the Soviet minister and the PLO leader would meet at a different place. As for us, we sipped coffee all night long waiting for Arafat, because we knew that the PLO leader's favourite working time was between midnight and 2 a.m. The protocol department officials were with us, which provided some comfort. In the morning we said goodbye to each other. Several days later Bessmertnykh met Arafat in Geneva.

After the talks with Bessmertnykh, Arafat told journalists: "As long as our friends in the Soviet Union together with other states and the United States of America continue determined efforts for peace, we will undoubtedly reach the desired objective."

It seems that the PLO leadership, which had compromised itself during the Persian Gulf crisis, is now changing its tactics and does not oppose different variants of Palestinian involvement in the peace conference.

Said Alexander Bessmertnykh: "Arafat and I discussed the possible forms of Palestinian participation. There are three variants. First, an independent Palestinian delegation. Second, Palestinians as part of an all-Arabian delegation. And third – Palestinians participate as a part, a bloc in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

The Soviet stance is as follows: the decision is up to you, we will support any variant you choose."

Four questions to the minister

New Times. "What countries have agreed to take part in the conference?"

Alexander Bessmertnykh. "In fact, all countries, but the degree of their involvement is different. I mean the so-called confrontational countries, the ones neighbouring on Israel. The countries we have visited. We are somewhere in the middle of the first stage, if I may put it like this. Now everybody is speaking about the necessity of a peace conference – perhaps only a couple of countries are more cautious. However, we have to finalize some parameters of the conference until we are able to set the concrete date of its convocation. The main accomplishment is that practically all countries, including Israel, have recognized UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as the international legal basis of the conference.

"Other countries will naturally be interested in general regional solutions, the discussion of such issues as security, economic cooperation, ecology, distribution of water. Have you noticed that the problem of water is as important here as the problem of nuclear security? Nuclear arms are not needed here. If water disappears, the civilization will disappear too. We still cannot understand this completely. This is a colossal problem of the region. The Middle East is the centre of regional problems which can be discussed also by Persian Gulf countries and other countries. European countries, for instance. Especially if we start discussing reduction of arms supplies...."

N.T. "By the way, both co-sponsors of the peace conference continue to supply arms to the region. How compatible is this fact with the peace efforts and will the question of arms supplies be discussed soon?"

A.B. "The paradox is that 90 percent of arms is supplied to the Middle East by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. This situation has been historically formed and naturally has nothing to do with the participation of the supplier countries in the UN Security Council. Your question applies to all arms suppliers and to the Soviet Union and the United States in particular, because the superpowers have a greater responsibility for the future of the negotiating process in the region.

"On the face of it, it would be good if the region could be disarmed, or at least if the armaments which are currently in the region could be reduced. This is correct. But there are serious difficulties connected with the general instability in the Middle East. Nonetheless Baker and I discuss this problem during each meeting. We discussed it when we met in Cairo too. What makes the situation so complex? First, the lack of stability generates fears. Every country is concerned about its national security. Second, there are countries which produce state-of-the-art weapons and there are countries which only buy such weapons. That's why as soon as the question of an arms exports' embargo arises, some of the buyers may say: what about the producers? I believe we must begin with the weapons of mass destruction. This question must be solved gradually..."

N.T. "The latest Persian Gulf crisis, to be more precise, the mapping out of Soviet policies vis-à-vis that crisis, has touched off a political storm in the Soviet Union. Are Soviet Middle East policies meeting any domestic complications?"

A.B, "Honestly, I have not felt any difficulties as yet. I may, after I report to the Supreme Soviet... I believe that we are solving the problems which are equally important for the right and the left, for those who want an integral union and those who advocate republican sovereignty. There is nothing in our policies that could affect any side's interests. The beginning of relations with all interested Middle East parties must be correctly interpreted by everybody. A policy can only be effective when you deal with all conflicting parties. This possiblity has matured and we have used it..."

N.T. "What do you think is the influence of the pro-Arab and the pro-Israeli lobbies in the Soviet political quarters?"

A.B. "Well, I can't really answer that. You see, the main aspect of our policy is its being unbiased. Otherwise we would not have been able to play the role we want to play. It is impossible to reach peace and stability in the region without heeding the interests of all sides – the Arab countries, the Palestinians, Israel. Incidentally, during our talks Yasser Arafat also spoke of the necessity to heed the interests of Israel. Our policy is unbiased. This, I believe, allows us to count on support, and on domestic support as well..."

The unbiased policy of which the minister spoke is the key notion in the forming Middle East policy. As the recent events in the Gulf have shown, unbiased policies do not come easy and are not always supported.

The Beduin paradise

However, only an unbiased policy can open up new vistas in the Middle East. This unbiased policy brought the Soviet diplomats to Saudi Arabia and as a result our Middle East mission made a one-day stopover in that fabulous country, a country which has used its billions of petrodollars to buy the very best of the world's technological achievements without borrowing the vices of the Western civilization and has managed to preserve its national culture and customs, the moral tradition, the attitude to women and even the traditional attires which are impossible for Europeans but natural for the Saudis.

As our plane was about to land in Riyadh, we noticed strange circles in the face of the desert. The perverted mentality was quick to suggest an answer: these were military bases. It turned out later, however, that the circles were in fact irrigated oases where Saudis grow wheat, enough to feed the country and even to export some wheat.

Nobody strolls the streets of Riyadh, because when it's 50 degrees Centigrade, an air-conditioned car is a lot more convenient. "We borrow the very best of science," King Fahd told Bessmertnykh, "we have seven universities and a lot of colleges..."

The Saudi business quarters are very interested in the opening Soviet markets.

However, a serviceman in combat fatigues is not an unusual sight in the Beduin paradise. As long as there is no peace in the Holy Land, no peace will come to the Arabian deserts...

The Arab world is heterogeneous. Even our swift marathon of a visit was long enough to let us see that the conflict in the Middle East has more dimensions than simply the Arab-Israeli confrontation. Other dimensions are the struggle between the rich and the poor, between the Muslim tradition and the Western values, for resources and water.

There is a lingering feeling of apprehension which seems unjustified and excessive. You feel it when you see a bomb shelter in Jerusalem which is very much like the Soviet city of Odessa. It was only several months ago that people living in Jerusalem hastened to put on gas masks and hide in the shelter as another Soviet-made Scud missile fired by Iraq noiselessly cruised across the midnight skies above Israel...

DAMASCUS–AMMAN–JERUSALEM –RIYADH–GENEVA–MOSCOW

Photos by the author

"We are each other's destiny"

Polish President **Lech WALESA** gave an interview to *NT's* own correspondent Rudolf Borecki

President and his junior daughter Brigida

The meeting took place at the presidential residence, the Belweder Palace. The new pattern of the President's contacts with the press is more democratic in spirit and inviting for improvisation but also somewhat more risky for the journalists. Instead of a traditional face-to-face conversation, now it is something like a press conference for a group of journalists who are given their turn to ask questions and are expected to arrive at the same hour of the same date.

This time it was 9 a.m., May 14. President Lech Walesa of the Polish Republic and Andrzej Drzycimki, his press secretary, receive a group of Japanese journalists from *The Japan Economic Journal*, and reporters for the *Washington Post* and *New Times*. Our Western colleagues are accompanied, as usual, by secretaries, interpreters and photographers. The meeting is planned to last one hour, which makes it 20 minutes for each title. That pattern is fraught with the risk of failing to fulfil own plan and have no time left for an important question (or any question at all!) to ask. The President's press service arranged the sequence as follows: Japanese open the meeting, then comes my turn, and Americans are the last.

Lech Walesa and his press secretary stride into the room. Walesa, when still in motion, makes an excuse for being ten minutes late (his breakfast meeting with premier Bielecki and vice-premier Balcerowicz took more time than he expected) and gestures everyone to join him at a table. Even before he seated himself in an arm chair, he turns to Japanese: "I'm ready for your questions."

It's evident that the President takes great interest in a conversation with Japanese. Here in Poland Walesas's attitude towards that country has been known since long ago. For the first time he visited Japan with a group of Solidarity leaders, at the invitation from local trade unions about a decade ago. He came back with a romantic ambition: to make Poland another Japan. Now he just smiles at the naivete of that slogan. However, that dream is still living somewhere at the back of his mind, as it seems. To business-like questions from Japanese he gave spirited and extensive answers. In his monologues, he was developing an idea which seemed to be very important for him: Poland needs no loans and asks no money. What Poland needs is collaboration in remodelling the country and its economy. Any conditions are acceptable: you may buy Polish factories, build new ones here, reequip or reorient existing ones, or set up joint ventures. We want to drag (sic!) as many Japanese, Frenchmen, Germans and other Westerners to Poland. Every Japanese working here is worth a division of Poles! Westerners are expected to be working, accrue their property – and protect it – here in Poland.

The first leg of the meeting was going on far beyond the protocol 20-minute quota. The reporter from *Washington Post* gets nervous. He sends his interpreter to Drzcimski. I become aware that my American colleague fears that he might have no time left for him and asks if he could be the next after Japanese. The response is a firm "no" of the press secretary who gestures with his head in my direction. A mere quarter of an hour remains till the end of the time granted us to ask our questions.

At last the "Japanese leg" is over. I'm asked to sit by the President. I hastily change the plan of my interview. But it turns out that there was no need to: my conversation with the Polish President lasted at least half an hour. Americans had time only to ask and have answers for two questions: about Polish debts and the role of the Church. I began with what I thought to be a key question.

New Times. Our magazine was the first among Soviet periodicals to publish an interview with you when you were head of Solidarity. It was the first, as far as I know, to write a feature story about you in the wake of your success in the December 1990 presidential election. I'm aware of a difference between a trade-Union leader and the foremost citizen of a country. I also understand the evolution of your views on relations between our two countries. The language of diplomats and politicians has many specifications for such relations: partnership, good-neighbourliness, friendship, etc. Suppose an agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union is signed today, which word would you choose to describe such an agreement now?

Lech Walesa. Our shared experience of the past commits us to many things. I said this many times: we are each other's destiny. One can't move either Poland or the USSR to America. This means that we must try and build our relations in such a way that we could benefit from it and have better lives for ourselves. Both your country and mine are restructuring the pattern of life for our people. We mustn' be a hindrance for each other in this process. Enmity must be out of place here. And it's up to specialists to formulate the details.

N.T. Our shared history had perhaps too many sad events. It is absolutely necessary to get to the rock-bottom of truth in those matters. But don't you think that the past mesmerizes us and blinds us to our present and future? Isn't it a drag on the progress of our countries' relations?

L.W. I agree. Perfectly agree. One can't build future from the material of the past. However, we must learn from the past. Let the dead bury their dead – and we the living must go ahead and, of course, revere the memory of the dead.

N.T. Frankly, Poland and the majority of its population are looking to the West, while the country has always had stronger ties with the East. A considerable number of realistically-thinking politicians – like Roman Dmowski, Stanislaw Grabski and

Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, for that matter, took this circumstance into account in their practical work. Which of the principles of your policy towards the East are, in your opinion basic?

L.W. There is a certain logic in our behaviour under the present and changed situation. There are certain logically explainable patterns. Anyone who is set free is overjoyed. A horse released from his stable after a long winter can't have enough of frolicing around. He jumps about so wildly that can break own leg. See what happens if you release a dog from his leash! Animals enjoy their freedom but return to their homes with the advent of the winter cold. The same is with people: everyone must have an opportunity to enjoy one's freedom. People can't be contained and can even start a fight when exhilarated. But having cooled down, we begin to realize that we can't live without each other and that a good neighbour is an asset and that goodneighbourly relations yield good profit.

We in Eastern Europe – Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia – are heading for the West. We thought that the West would immediately rush to our help and give us whatever we want. However, the reality has proved to be different. We are on different levels of development. We can't catch up with the West even if we try hard. We must take to sense and return to where we belong. We must keep to the like of us. However, we mustn't abandon the ambition of entering the world's civilization. Our cooperation in progressing in this common direction must become more sensible: first, because we are not wanted "there," second, because mechanisms of cooperation between ourselves which have been streamlined for 45 years can be easier again put into action and operated by us. This is true of every level, starting from factories. Of course, we re-start on a qualitatively higher level, under democracy, plurality of ideas, and freedom. If domination of one side is resumed, it is not going to get us anywhere.

N.T. It is common knowledge that economic ties between our two countries are not at their best, to say the least. At the same time, a Sejm commission is reported to be discussing – in connection with Polish liabilities for the International Monetary Fund – reduction of Polish export to Eastern Europe and the USSR by half. I never read an explanation of this. Can you supply it?

L.W. You see, the key concept underlying our countries' mutual relations was based on clinging to the principle of integrity of our economic systems. It was not very important which particular factory was performing poorly and which was working fine, since the best factories made up for the inefficiency of the worst, which kept the economy going, perhaps not very fast though. Now when every country and every factory is free and operating on the principle of cost-accounting, the complexity of the situation proves to be overpowering: plants operating at a loss cannot be just done away with because their are meshed with efficient producers.

I reiterate: the success of your reforms and our reforms is proportionate to the rate of our cooperation with each other. I don't mean an outside aid but cooperation. All will stand to lose in the final account if the West refuses to deal with us and we ourselves don't cooperate.

The question is: how is cooperation to be implemented in practical terms? I firmly believe that the only way is an earliest possible privatization of the economy, no matter how hard it can hit us. (In his talk with Japanese, Walesa said: "Mrs Thatcher sold into private possession merely 10 percent of the state-run industries and had to suffer criticism for doing it, from the opposition for many years afterwards. But I want to de-nationalize as much as 95 percent of the state sector!" – **R.B.**) Everyone must be made responsible for own work. A worker must work as best as he can and earn good money, instead of imitating work and thus fooling the country. Conditions must be dictated by the market rather than by politics. There's no ill will on our side in the way economic relations with the USSR have shaped. In fact, our revolutions took us unawares. Many of the former economic ties have been broken, some cannot ever be repaired. But we understand that the Soviet Union is a giant market. We must continue to operate on the market, only with more skill. This is what I want to discuss during my visit to your country.

N.T. But what about the said commitments before the IMF?

(I was not given a direct answer. The President again said that the West refused to buy Polish goods, and commercial ties with the East were to be established from scratch. – **R.B.**).

N.T. Let us turn to internal Polish issues. The unity within Solidarity in the 1980s was largely determined by the promotion of the idea of "equal living conditions," which is being replaced by the slogan demanding "equal opportunities," an equal start for all. Don't you think that this reorientation in the psychology of the masses is a stumbling block for the Polish society and in a broader sense, a key problem facing any country which society is trying to break away from the "really-existing socialism"?

L.W. This is a difficult question to answer. In the time of war, we eat from messtins, and it was all right with us. Today a mess-tin on a table would stick out like a sore thumb. What was OK then is not so now. In our war against the regime, we were rallied together by the slogan of fight for a renewal. After we got that renewal, each one of the fighters returned to his work: some in a priest's attire, some others in tail-coats, still others – like myself – in cover-alls and with electrician's kit in hand. Some people are already nostalgic about that unity we once had. I have just told the Japanese journalists that if I restore this unity in my shipyards in Gdansk and then tell the workers that the shipyards are to be closed down because they operate at a loss, the workers will surely closed down the Belweder (to Japanese Walensa said: "They will burn it down." – **R.B.**).

Unity was instrumental for breaking down the system. But unity will prevent me from closing down unprofitable concerns, because each factory's staff are minding their own interests first of all. The solidarity of the past would now become a crushing wave and would wipe away all what we have done. Here's a parable for you: a hundred men boarded a boat capable of carrying only a dozen, and the boat sank drowning everyone. The same is with the economy. Some must leave, to enable others safely reach the other shore. We are not confronted by the regime, an enemy for all. Paradoxically, the worse a team works, the stronger its members are in pushing their demands. If you tell them: you bring no profit to the country, they will retort: the Belweder Palace doesn't either. So, I have to agree to have disunity.

N.T. I know that you always were for plurality of political ideas. You often said that a politician must "walk on two legs." What is your current attitude towards the left-wing forces?

L.W. I can't ignore something which in fact exists. The President must try and harness the left-wing forces to the work for the benefit of the Polish society. (Since lately, Walesa has been upholding that he is "above the political parties" and calls himself "the President for all Poles". – **R.B.**). We must create conditions enabling the leftists to share in the constructive effort rather than fight. I'm working in this direction now.

N.T. You are known in the USSR well. You are a popular figure in my country. However people have – I would say – a stilted image of you. What do you love to do? What makes you happy outside your work?

L.W. I love everything which I cannot have. Of course, I would prefer to be angling now, in such a fine weather, and to court a girl in the evening (laughing). I'm below 50, you know. But I can't go out to hunt fishes because I'm too busy and can't escape my bodyguards in the evening. Bodyguards would hate to lose their jobs. Consequently everything I love to do is beyond my reach. This means that I must learn to love what I can have and what I'm doing and to do it well and wait when they dismiss you. It is a moot question whether I am going to be sacked for good work or for bad work. I think that for the former.

N.T. In the name of our readers, and the staff of the magazine, thank you for your interview, Mr President, and let me tell you that we all are looking forward to meeting you again in Moscow.

WARSAW

Jiang Zemin's visit to Moscow crowned the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations

Five principles minus ideology

Relations normalized. How to shape them up

Are the USSR and China, two great Eastern powers, joining hands again? This question, perhaps, agitates mostly the West rather than the East. There was more ground for anxiety two years ago, when Mikhail Gorbachev visited Beijing. Now, during the return visit to Moscow, paid by Jiang Zemin, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Western journalists asked that question mechanically, I would say. Jiang Zemin answered most comprehensively: "Both sides have come to the conclusion that there is no way back to the former alliance. Besides, they are to prevent a recurrence of recent confrontation. Relations should be developed on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence." I would say that a model of the two-year development of Soviet-Chinese contacts in strength and scope was approved by the visit of the Chinese leader. This is the main result of the undoubtedly successful visit. It is opportune to concentrate one's attention on the things which should be taken into consideration to ensure the beneficial development of Soviet-Chinese relations in future as well.

Gorbachev is better

The point in question here is ideological differences, above all. After the Tiananmen events of June 1989 the Beijing leaders stepped up their policy of strengthening the leading role of the Communist Party in Chinese developments and of eradicating whatever manifestations of "bourgeois liberalism," including slogans about unbounded freedom, pluralism, and the division of powers. In the Soviet Union the situation developed in the diametrically opposite direction. The Chinese witnessed developments in the Northern neighbouring country with growing surprise. In private talks functionaries from the Communist Party of China asked Soviet Communists: "Why do you give up power of your own? History has never seen a single political party doing that. Moreover, the CPSU sometimes gives the reins of power to consummate rascals!" Differences grew as vast as some Chinese could no longer understand Soviet reality. Having heard some anti-Communist and even profascist tirades in the Arbat St., one of my Chinese friends asked me: "Are these CPSU Democratic Platform's leaders?"

Beijing's unfavourable response to openness and pluralism in the USSR was enhanced by the fear that those risky experiments could spread over the Great Wall of China. Perturbations in Eastern Europe evoked anxiety in Beijing. From afar some people might see "a hand of Moscow" in dismantling former regimes in Budapest or Prague. After the regimes of Honecker and Ceausescu had been abolished some people in Beijing began calling for the resumption of ideological battles against the new generation of revisionists. Common sense prevailed, however. The top-ranking leaders of the People's Republic of China reminded their "combatants" the price of the cold war against the USSR. Just another series of Quixotic attacks on the windmills of revisionism would cost even more to China. The Chinese government clearly set forth its standpoint: the 1989 agreement remained valid, and each country had the right to follow its own road. Unofficially representatives of the PRC added: "Even if you sink into capitalism you and us should live in peace and friendship and will do that."

By the summer of 1990 neutrality in the Chinese approach to Soviet developments had grown into the desire to help the central government headed by Mikhail Gorbachev. That metamorphosis could be partially explained by sheer sympathy as well as pragmatism. Beijing had the following reasons. Firstly, if socialism, in the traditional sense of the word, perished, socialism in China would be placed in jeopardy. Hence, Gorbachev and the CPSU were to be supported. Although they had done some wrong things, their programme was far more socialist than the programmes of emerging social forces. Secondly, the disintegration of the Soviet Union would inevitably result in the outbreaks of separatism which could bring about a mess in China as well. It was sufficient to recall that Kazakhs, Uigurs, Uzbeks, and other ethnic groups lived on both sides of the frontier. The only reasonable thing to do in that situation was to support the central government and the President of the USSR, who had been trying to prevent a disaster.

A Soviet point of view

In a nutshell, ideological, geopolitical, and other considerations form the basis of the Beijing's policy of maintaining and further developing normal relations with the Soviet government, of supporting Gorbachev and his party, irrespective of emotions. Jiang Zemin's visit has corroborated this. The People's Republic of China does not show any sings of altering the Soviet-Chinese relations established in 1989. Let us analyze the situation in the USSR in this connection. The central government has been most flexible, attentive, and resourceful in developing relations with China. This can-

not be noted about the Left-wingers or the Right-wingers. The Left, or Radical Reformers are not going to forgive the PRC Government for the Tiananmen tragedy. They urge others to restrict contacts with the PRC government. They "fraternize" with the forces in opposition, and they defame PRC leaders in the press. This behavior prejudices the interests of the Soviet State, and is wrong in principle.

One should not apply his own standard to the life of other nations. The authorities of the PRC believe that if they made concessions to rioters China would have been plunged into a mess and disorder, without any realistic prospects for their remedy, or for establishing a truly democratic and efficient social system. The Beijing leaders proceed from the fact that the cultural level of the population remains very low, with more than 800 million peasants, more than 200 million illiterate, and 100 million people living below the poverty level. Vile prejudices, unsatisfied ambitions, and deep grievances abound in China, with clanishness, factionalism, and parochialism. China already witnessed the orgy of instincts during its cultural revolution.

The people who are far from Communism, but who know China well agree with the above-mentioned opinion. For instance, Lee Kuan Yew, a Chinese, ex-Premier of Singapore, and an architect of the capitalist miracle in that country noted: "There is no tradition of democratic restraint in China. By local tradition a victor gains everything. If the demonstrators won a victory on the Tiananmen Square that day I am not at all sure that China would enter a glorious period of democracy. Anarchy would have set in." Lee Kuan Yew reproaches the Chinese leaders only with the ways of putting things in order. In their place he "would have first removed foreign newsmen, then switched off water and electricity and hindered food supply to the demonstrators. It would have been also possible to spread cholera or dysentery, and to dust the area with some itch-powder."

Meantime, it would be erroneous to think that the Chinese government is against democracy in principle. The need of political reforms was recognized there in the late seventies. True, the Chinese leadership prefers to carry them out "gradually, cautiously, according to plan, smoothly, and reliably." Time will show whether this approach is correct. Meanwhile, it would be not out of place to remind the Soviet Left-wingers that in South Korea the police uses clubs and toxic gases against riotous students day after day.

Let us turn to the "Chinese strategy" of the Right-wingers, or cosnervatives. Quite recently, while at the helm, they stormed at China. Today they shed sweet tears whenever the People's Republic of China is mentioned. The situation in China heightens their nostalgia for the good old days when nothing barred the way to their Chaika sedans speeding towards comfy government country cottages. Partocracy, pressed on, sees well-nigh the only ally in Beijing. Apparently the conservatives do not realise that there is a tremendously long distance between the Chinese leaders and themselves. The Chinese leaders are reformers by their views and deeds. Long before Gorbachev's perestroika they had arrived at the conclusion that life called for reforms. The Chinese authorities were the ones to turn land over to peasant families, to denationalize a substantial sector of the economy, to put an end to levelling, to make it possible for some of the working people to get rich quicker than others, and to open the Chinese door wide for foreign capital. And the Chinese authorities began speaking loudly about profit, competition, commodity exchange, stocks, and other things at whose thought the Soviet conservatives shudder even now. The priority of social property and plan are being proclaimed in China. Nonetheless, unbounded freedom has been given to market forces. The PRC Government has launched a struggle against "bourgeois liberalization." It does not yield one iota, however, concerning close cooperation with Western businessmen. The Soviet conservatives are doing their utmost to nip in the bud the attempts of the President to use foreign experience in economic reforms, Chinese experience included. The Soviet conservatives and the Chinese conservatives actually speak different languages.

I happened to attend a talk during which trying to please his guest from socialist China, the Soviet host noted that the Moscow municipal authorities would never give more than 5 to 10 per cent of trade to private traders. The Chinese visitor nodded assent. On leaving the office, though, he exclaimed in irritation: "How can one think of such restrictions? To act this way means to go on maiming productive forces, protecting monopolization, and provoking inflation."

It does not occur to the Soviet Right-wingers either that ideological reasons are not the only hindrance to their link-up with Beijing. Perhaps a more important reason is that it is not intended by the Chinese government. For more than a decade now the People's Republic of China has been co-operating with partners in various countries, irrespective of their ideology. This policy underlies the plans of China's modernization, of its developing into a thriving, mighty, and prestigeous state. After the June, 1989, tragedy, China's cooperation with Western countries has somewhat slackened, not on China's initiative at all. The Chinese government exerts every effort to breathe new life into its contacts with the United States and its friendly countries. By the way, one of the reasons of Jiang Zamin's visit to Moscow was a desire to make Western powers treat China in greater respect and be more compliant. Conservatives could, perhaps, note that the PRC severely criticizes world imperialism and reproves the Soviet leaders for their indulgence. This is really so, but behind these words one can see the Chinese fear of the fact that omnipotence and the absence of control, particularly after the "easy war" in the Persian Gulf, might turn the Americans' head. In the past as well as at present the goal of China has remained the same: to keep up the balance of forces in the world. It is opportune to recall Beijing's policy in the seventies, when the United States had slackened after the Vietnamese war, and the Soviet leaders had begun stepping up the development of the country's armed forces and acquired a taste for expansionist policy? China urged the United States not to relax its vigilance then. Furthermore, the PRC leaders, naturally, do not feel extremely happy when the two superpowers are on good terms. Hence the desire to warn them against excessive flirting and to encourage the activity of both giants towards China.

Is alliance needed?

What if the Soviet Right-wingers somehow manage to restore ideological alliance with China? Will it meet the interests of the Soviet state? History has already given a good lesson on the score. To begin with, as was the case in the fifties, the Soviet leaders will quarrel with the West and will dreadfully scare Asian nations, from India up to, and including South Korea. Then, farewell to hope for know-how and credits from abroad, disarmament, and the solution of other problems of world importance, and farewell to perestroika. After the internal and external policy of the Kremlin fails the Soviet Union will again (just as in the sixties and the seventies) quarrel with the People's Republic of China. The two giant countries of the East have too many differences in interests and requirements for fully bringing their actions into step in keeping with the pledges of allies. What if (God forbid!) Chinese-Indian relations worsen again and the Soviet leaders will again remain neutral? Such an apostacy will certainly arouse the indignation of China as an ally, while as a partner China will understand that and will have no grudge against the USSR.

It looks like the Soviet and the PRC governments keep up bilateral cooperation at the best possible level. Only bitter ideological disputes and schemes of various kinds can hinder its progress. Those passions and designs should be ousted from Chinese-Soviet relations.

Yevgeni Bazhanov,
D.Sc.(History)

A tank painted pink

Alexander Didusenko

I was going to write a commentary about the Declaration on the Principles of Mutual Relations and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and Czecho-Slovakia, signed in Prague during Boris Yeltsin's visit to that country. Practically this is the first diplomatic document to put new relations between sovereign Russia and sovereign states of Eastern Europe on the international legal basis. But when my article was almost ready I switched on the TV set and saw a scene from Prague: three dozen Czecho-Slovak MPs with brushes, ladders and buckets of paint were zealously painting pink a tank – the monument to Soviet tankmen who came to help the insurgent capital of Czecho-Slovakia in May 1945.

They looked funny, these duabsters enjoying parliamentary immunity, these cockroaches on the pedestal. But I was in a no laughing mood. On the contrary, I thought soberly and clearly about something very serious.

Indeed, a tank is not the best monument to people's heroism and self-sacrifice. Moreover, a tank in Prague, owing to a number of sad historical circumstances, is reminding people not only of the Soviet liberatory mission in 1945 but also of the punitive action in 1968. I think it would have been better and more humane if in Smichov stood not a tank but another monument to tankmen who perished in the streets of the Czecho-Slovak capital in the hours when the world was already rejoicing over the triumphant end of the war. Nevertheless, the participation of MPs in desecrating even not the most fortunate monument cannot be called otherwise than an outrage. Willy-nilly, this action, too, was added to various recent statements, claiming that the Soviet role in the liberation of Prague has been exaggerated: Americans, it was alleged, could also have extended a helping hand, and the city was saved by the troops of Vlasov and, in general, the entire history of Czecho-Slovak-Soviet relations must be revised.

Then my only wish was to cross out all I had written and start anew, from May 1945. No, at that time I was not in Prague. For our unit the war ended not far from Dresden. But I saw the tanks that had just finished the battle for Berlin hurrying towards Prague. And I heard the Prague Radio calling them to help. I think some day in the future history will give us an honest answer to the question why American soldiers did not come to help the insurgent people from Beroun which was only some 40 km from the Czech capital. Sometimes our allies did not always observe the agreement on the line of demarcation in hostilities. Perhaps, one day the role of Vlasov's army will also be clarified. At first it did not allow the Nazis to destroy the city but then left it to them when it became clear that Prague would not become small change in the bargain with the Soviet command. But tankmen hurrying to help Prague, breaking with battles through the powerful fortification line in Krusne Hory (mountains), built by the first Czechoslovak Republic, did not think at that time about the possibilities of Americans or about the role of Vlasovites. They hurried to save the capital of the fraternal people from common hateful enemy and were ready to die for the righteous cause and fell in battle on the first day of peace, believing that their heroic deeds would not be forgotten...

Such is the historical truth as viewed from its main, human aspect, when secondary political, military-strategic and possibly economic considerations are deliberately ignored. But to know these secondary aspects is useful too. Otherwise the historical blank spaces left by our grandfathers in due course turn into mines by which their grandchildren are blown up. Many years after the war, working as a newspaper correspondent in Prague, I often noticed with surprise that Czech youngsters of the same age as my children did not know the complicated history of relations between our countries, particularly its shady sides. They did not know that there was not only the Slovak National Uprisinng, but also Slovak divisions fighting together with Hitlerites against the USSR. That there was not only the pro-London and pro-Moscow anti-Nazi Czech Resistance, but also that approximately every third shell exploded in the Eastern Front, every fourth tank were manufactured in the protectorate by Czeck workers. And if we delve deeper, there was also Russia's gold taken out of Siberia by the Czecho-Slovak legion, gold which was used not only to help Russian émigrés...

We must not forget about the past, but also should not build our future on the basis of the past

I remember talking about all this in a highly intellectual family in Prague and the host's sons shouting in frenzy: "That is not true!" and the hostess, too, shaking her head doubtfully until the host said: "Unfortunately, it is true. I worked at a factory as a turner and made mine casings and my father told me how he had guarded Russian gold in Vladivostok, and the amount of that gold...".

"We must not forget about the past, but also should not build our future on the basis of the past. The future must be built on the basis of the present, on the basis of present-day, fundamentally new relations between our countries." These words which Boris Yeltsin uttered in Prague were reproduced by many Czecho-Slovak papers.

Soviet soldiers who hurried to help Prague in 1945 knew the unpleasant truth about the past. But they were sufficiently wise and humane to forget it for the sake of the future. Most probably, the MPs who defamed in 1991 the monument to these soldiers did not have either sufficient wisdom or humaneness, humaneness regarding the past and wisdom when concerning the present and the future. At any rate, speaking about the implementation of the principles of relations between Czecho-Slovakia and Russia, underlying the signed Declaration one cannot call what the MPs did wise. Perhaps, certain people would very much want that no such Declaration existed at all.

■

The irreconcilable?

The threat of a violent death has made fatalism a national trait of Salvadorans

El Salvador, a small republic in Central America, is a real paradise on earth. It has only two seasons – spring and summer, luxuriant vegetation, and the Pacific coast with splendid beaches. The country could be a "tourist Mecca," having the rich United States as its neighbour. The republic is also able to support itself economically. One of the most delicious varieties of coffee, Salvador, enjoys deserved fame in the world market.

The nation could live quietly were it not for the terror of right and left-wing extremists who have tormented the blessed land over the last ten years.

Men from ARENA

Carmen, the 50-year-old chairman of an agricultural cooperative, was stopped in the street of his village by armed soldiers who asked him to produce his identity paper. Carmen did not have the paper about him, and for this he was shot to death while his wife was raped.

A 24-year-old resident of the town of Santa Ana was killed in broad daylight by a local policeman, an activist of the ruling Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA). The killed man refused to pay criminals.

Sometimes it is difficult to identify victims of the death squads, an underground terrorist organization. However, it is easy to identify the "method" of killers. Seven assassinations carried out by terrorists from death squads have been registered over the past year. However, one "collective" murder stirred up the whole country. Last January, in the small town of El Zapote not far from the capital, 15 people were mercilessly shot by terrorists who accused their victims, old men and children, of complicity with the rebels.

Today death squads no longer operate with such frank cynicism as it was in the early period of their "activity," when they used to kill up to 10.000 people a year. This can probably be explained by two circumstances: first, the threat of the US administration to stop any aid to El Salvador and, second, the coming to power of the extreme right-wing ARENA under whose protection the terrorists act.

Official representatives of the ARENA and the army certainly deny their complicity with the activity of terrorist organizations. For instance, Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani is convinced that one can talk only about separate actions of hired criminals.

It is not so, however. Terrorist groups continue to operate under the aegis of the army and the ARENA's right wing. Right-

A member of a death squad
Photo from the magazine Cambio 16

-wing extremism remains the policy of the Salvadoran political, military and economic elite. The moderate members of the ruling party and the army are trying to disown the terrorists, for the latter hurt their image in the world arena. However, by all indications, they are not yet able to hinder the activity of death squads.

When fighting is a profession

Soviet officials have always considered that patriots from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front are right in everything. There are, however, serious grounds to believe that, together with the right-wing forces, certain forces within the Front should also bear responsibility for the continuing terror in the country.

A Salvadoran army captain, being on his leave, was riding with his wife in a car. Passing by a school in the Libertad department he, according to traffic regulations, lowered the speed. At this moment a young man approached the captain's car and shot him to death from an automatic rifle, seriously wounding his wife. On the same day the Modesto Ramirez Front, an organization connected with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front assumed the responsibility for the murder.

A group of guerrillas from the Front ordered all people in the small town of Santa Ana to gather in the central square. The rebels publicly executed an officer, who retired from the army half a year ago.

On January 2 of this year guerrillas shot to death two American soldiers who remained alive after a crash of their helicopter. After this incident the United States resumed military aid to the Salvadoran government in full volume. The crime of left terrorists was so provocative that the NLF command was compelled to promise to bring them to trial.

Such actions of the NLF do not contribute to the growth of its popularity among the population. Both right and left extremism arouse disgust among Salvadorans. Many people believe that, if the guerrillas do not want to lose the confidence of their compatriots completely, they should renounce terror and try to find peaceful ways of settling the national conflict.

The NLF command, consisting of the leaders of the Front's five organizations, seem to be unanimous in their opinion that it is impossible to achieve a military victory over the army and a way out of the present situation should therefore be sought at the negotiating table. However, some "field commanders" believe only in a military victory over the army and often take decisions on terrorist actions on their own initiative.

Peace agreements are concluded now and then between the opposed forces. The international community expresses "guarded optimism." However, the terms of these agreements are not observed. And the 11-year devastating war, which took away more than 70.000 lives, continues.

Yuri Kudimov,
our own correspondent
SAN SALVADOR-MEXICO CITY

Warnings came not only from the German Ambassador

Our magazine (No. 8) wrote about a risky step taken by German Ambassador von Schulenburg who warned Moscow of the imminent Nazi invasion, and about the warnings which came from Soviet diplomats in Berlin. Signals also came from other sources, in particular from London and Washington. **Sergei Gorlov and Valentin Voyushin** studied more archival material on the subject.

A foreign government official communicates important information to the Soviet Ambassador about a threat hanging over the USSR. The Ambassador replies: don't trouble us about that, we shall take care of things ourselves. This may seem strange. However, that happened several times. The following picture becomes clearer after the study of reports from Ivan Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador in London.

3 October, 1940. Richard Butler, First State Secretary of the Foreign Office, speaks of the threat of a German military victory in Europe. Maisky replies in the aforementioned way.

13 October, 1940. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden informs Maisky of German troop concentration in Romania.

17 February, 1941. Clement Attlee and Arthur Greenwood, members of the Labour shadow cabinet, pass on the same information to Maisky and talk about a possible threat to Baku. The Ambassador repeats that he sees "no grounds at the present time for any serious anxiety on our part."

6 March, 1941. In Moscow, British Ambassador Stafford Gripps states in a conversation with Andrei Vyshinsky, then First Deputy of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs: "There are rumours that Germany is preparing to strike the first blow against the USSR and that all its actions in the Balkans now have the only aim of protecting its Balkan flank in the forthcoming attack on the USSR." In the opinion of Cripps, these rumours are based on Hitler's renounciation of the "plan to invade the British Isles. He also has to give up his aim of conquering Europe. Since Britain is not vanquished, Hitler has to find a way out of the ever worsening situation before American aid to Britain assumes a wider scale." The Ambassador notes that attack on the USSR will "enable Germany to make peace with Britain by way of sacrificing Belgium, France and other countries at the expense of the USSR." Cripps suggests that strong resistance should be offered to Germany in order to prevent the expansion of the war. But there is no reaction from Moscow.

A warning is delivered by Winston Churchill himself. In a personal letter sent to Stalin on April 3, 1941:

"I have at my disposal the intelligence from a reliable agent. When the Germans thought Yugoslavia to be entrapped, that is, after March 20, they began to transfer three of their five tank divisions from Romania to southern Poland, the agent reported. As soon as they learned about the Serbian revolution (a coup in Belgrade on March 27 – **Ed.**), the transfer was cancelled. Your Excellency will easily understand the implication of these facts."

It is highly indicative that while the doors of Molotov's office were always open to the German Ambassador, he did not want to receive the British Ambassador. Molotov's deputy, Vyshinsky, was the highest Soviet official Cripps could meet with. Having lost all hope of being received by Molotov, he decided to pass on his own memoire to him through Vyshinsky. It seems that for this purpose he delayed the handing of Churchill's April 3 letter to Stalin till April 19. It was an imprudent step, of course. The delay considerably devalued the meaning of the letter, as Germany attacked Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941...

Sir Stafford Cripps (left, welcoming Lord Beaverbrook to Moscow) could not make an appointment with Molotov in prewar days

But let's continue our chronicle. On **April 18, 1941** Stafford Cripps presents Vyshinsky with a 14-page hand-written memo which says that if war assumes a protracted character this could increasingly tempt both Britain and the United -States to conclude a peace with Germany on following terms: Hitler pulls out German troops from the occupied countries of Western Europe and in exchange is given a free hand in the East. Cripps used this argument knowing Stalin's fear of remaining in isolation. The Ambassador spoke of the

need to improve Soviet-British relations because otherwise the temptation to conclude peace with Germany may prevail in London.

Vyshinsky took no heed of what Cripps wrote and even squabbled with him. True, he passed the memo on to Molotov.

1 May, 1941. Maisky informs Moscow of his meeting with Brenden-Bracken, Parliamentary Secretary and a close friend of Churchill. According to his account, John Cudahy, former US Ambassador in Brussels who had a liking for Hitler, visited Berlin and had a long conversation with the Führer. The latter said that his present policy towards the Kremlin was only a wartime manoeuvre and that in the main he adhered to the position developed by him in *Mein Kampf*. The time will come, Hitler added, and he will carry out his programme in relation to the USSR the way it is set forth in the book. This will not be difficult to do. The German army will pass through Russia as a knife through butter. "In general," Hitler noted in the conversation, "what is written in *Mein Kampf* will come true. One must have a little patience."

3 June 1941. According to Maisky's report, Anthony Eden, "referring to Churchill," said that "the British government disposed of exact information about the recent concentration of large German forces (troops, mechanized divisions, aircraft and so on) on the Soviet border, mainly in the area of the Ukraine". Churchill considered it to be "a prelude to an attack against the USSR." Firmly adhering to the official policy, Maisky replied that "he did not believe in a German attack on the USSR" and that "the USSR was well prepared for any surprise and from any side."

13 June 1941. On Churchill's request, Eden again warns Maisky about intensified concentrations of German troops near the western border of the Soviet Union and expresses the British government's readiness to render assistance to the USSR in the event of an attack. The Ambassador replies that the measures about which Eden spoke "presuppose the existence of very friendly relations between Britain and the USSR, but there are no such relations now."

18 June 1941. After his meeting with Cripps in London, Maisky reports to Moscow: "Cripps is firmly convinced that a military clash between Germany and the USSR is inevitable and that it will take place no later than in the middle of July. According to Cripps, "the Germans have concentrated 147 divisions along the Soviet border." One more, the latest warning of Cripps was communicated by Maisky to Moscow on June 21.

Nearly the same information came from the United States, though in considerably less volume than from Britain. This can be easily understood. First, as early as the spring of 1940 high-ranking American diplomats told Soviet officials about German plans of attacking the USSR, but they found no understanding from the latter. Second, by virtue of its geopolitical location, the United States did not sense the approaching war to such an extent as, say, Britain. Finally, unlike Britain, the United States was not in a state of war with any of the Axis powers. Nevertheless, through its Ambassador Lawrence Steinhardt, Washington hinted to Moscow on more than one occasion that the United States did not want to see German domination in the world and was prepared to come out against it in alliance with the USSR.

Here are the most important warnings from the United States, which Moscow ignored, just as it did in relation to similar warnings from Britain. On **March 1, 1941,** Under-Secretary of State Summer Welles tells the Soviet Ambassador in the US, Konstantin Umansky, that "according to confidential information which the American government has received and the authenticity of which is beyond any doubt, the Germans are planning – after their victory over Britain in spite of US support of the latter – to attack the Soviet Union, and the plans of an attack have been elaborated in detail."

"The American government stresses," a messasge said, "that it has indisputable proof of the veracity of the information it is passing on to the Soviet government only because, in its opinion, the countries upholding their territorial integrity and independence in the face of German plans of unlimited aggression have a moral right to receive similar information and a friendly warning."

15 April, 1941. In conversation with S.A. Lozovsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Lawrence Steinhardt, the US Ambassador to the Soviet Union, says that "according to trustworthy information received by his embassy in London, the situation of Germany is becoming worse with every day, it is unable to endure a long war and, in order to provide itself with food, it is preparing to attack the Ukraine... It is persistently rumoured that Germany is making strenuous preparations for a blitzkrieg against the USSR. It is expected to attack the USSR in May." Lozovsky thanked Steinhardt for his information, adding he did not think that Germany would attack the USSR. "In any case," he said, "the USSR is always prepared and will not be taken unawares-"

24 May, 1941. In a conversation with Vyshinsky the US Ambassador again mentioned the threat to the Soviet Union posed by Germany. He said that "the United States cannot allow Germany to control the world, subordinate all countries to its influence and undividedly use all world resources." Therefore "it would be good," Steinhardt continued, "if Germany was opposed by the United States on the one hand and the USSR on the other."

"Our relations with Germany," Vyshinsky replied, "are determined by the existing treaty of friendship, and I see no grounds for judgements similar to those expressed by the Ambassador in this respect. As for his surmise that the USSR, being left to its own, would be unable to counter the aggressive plans of Germany or any other country, I must stress that the USSR is strong enough to defend itself in the proper manner." Vyshinsky added that talk of this kind was intended for nervous people.

Finally, **on June 5, 1941,** in a conversation with Lozovsky, the US Ambassador again drew his attention to "the concentration of German troops on the western border of the USSR," stressing that "the Germans are ready to invade the Soviet Union." "The strength of the Germans lies in the technical equipment of their toops," Steinhardt noted. "They become increasingly insolent, and it is more and more difficult to reach agreement with them. They will demand more and more. The harvest in Germany is very bad this year, and this may impel Germany to attack the USSR." In the opinion of Steinhardt, the Soviet Union will experience a grave crisis in the next two or three weeks, and it is surprising for him that in such a hard time the USSR does not want to strengthen its relations with the United States. Lozovsky replied in the traditional way: "The Soviet Union reacts very quietly to all kinds of rumours about an attack on its borders. It is fully armed to check everyone who might try to violate its borders."

As they say, facts and documents speak for themselves. It only remains to add a few words in "defence" of Soviet diplomats. Of course, Maisky's comments on British warnings look absurd. But they have their explanation, namely, the position of Stalin, who regarded all warnings as provocation. Here is how Vyshinsky "instructed" experienced diplomat Maisky: "You should remember that various rumours about the probable German attack on the USSR are regarded by us as untrustworthy. But in any case, you should also remember that the USSR is ready for any surprise and if, against expectations, anyone try to attack, he will be repulsed in the proper manner."

Such instructions were given not only to Soviet ambassadors but also to Red Army commanders. The consequences of this policy are well known.

Freedom and tolerance

Society's normal life is possible only when opposing camps are willing to compromise

Seymour Martin Lipset

Democracy requires the legitimation of two astonishing behaviors, the willingness by leaders, elites and masses to accept the right of those who disagree with their truth to put forth contradictory views freely and widely, and the acceptance by people in positions of power to turn over office, with all its perquisites of privilege, status and power to those who defeat them in the competitive electoral struggle for votes. Citizens of stable democracies, such as the United States, the developed Commonwealth countries, most of Europe, take these practices for granted, but those in almost all other nations do not. In any case, for the duration of human history prior to the nineteenth century, autocracies, usually absolute monarchies, governed, and subjects were not allowed to organize and speak up against the dominant elites.

Religion and state were allied and both assumed there was only one truth, that which they believed and voiced. Opposition, criticism, were defined as heresy in religious terms and lese majeste in secular ones. And believers in heretical dissenting sects or opponents of the king, also did not advocate tolerance. Rather, the reformers were sure that their religious opponents were advocates of evil Satanic doctrines to be eliminated once the dissenters gained power. The secular rebels generally assumed that the monarchy had violated its compact with the nation, had been behaving immorally, and should be replaced by a new autocracy.

Tolerance of false doctrine and the refusal to inhibit or suppress opposition are not "normal" behaviors, judged against the historical record.

Yet the willingness to accept the right of opponents to voice their beliefs and advocate contrary policy must be legitimized, institutionalized, to have a free society. Without tolerance, political and religious opponents become enemies to be conquered and eliminated, and competition among groups becomes a kind of warfare.

If conflict is to be managed effectively, opposing camps must be willing to compromise. This involves not simply recognition of the opposition's right to hold its views, but also some degree of moderation in political positions and partisan identifications. Optimally, it requires the belief that no one can be certain he has the truth, that the conflict among freely expressed opposing opinions is more likely in the long run, if not the short, to produce the optimum result for society.

Fundamentalists, believers in the true faith, are a small minority in most of the developed and urbanized societies. In the West, most Christians and Jews lack the certainty their ancestors had. Secular faiths like communism, which have engaged in severe repression of different views, have lost their appeal not only to attract new believers, but to the dominant strata in some of their own countries as well. After 70 years of economic failure, the Soviet leadership lack the willingness to insist on conformity.

In China, the crack down on efforts to move beyond communism has come from a generation of older leaders who were themselves involved in the Revolution. They came to power believing themselves the expression of historic truth. Hence, to acknowledge that others might be right, that the truth can be found in debates among different points of views, to accept the possibility that they may have been wrong, that all the suffering they experienced and subjected the Chinese people to might be in vain, is close to impossible for them...

Groups not only defend their values, both political and religious. If they hold power, wealth, or status, they will not willingly or easily give them up. Hence, they too inherently resist accepting the rights of other interests to undermine their right to privilege and office.

And the more closely the sources of privilege are concentrated in the policy, the harder it is to institutionalize freedom of speech and democracy, since the political struggle must approach a zero sum game, in which the defeated lose all. Hence the more important the cental state is as a source of prestige and advantage, the less likely that those in power, will be to accept rules of the political game that institutionalize conflict and innevitably result in a turnover in office.

Few groups in history have ever voluntarily espoused civil liberties and freedom for those who advocate measures they consider despicable or dangerous. Religious freedom emerged in the Western world only after the contending powers, the different Christian churches, found themselves unable to eliminate their rivals without destroying the entire society. In the course of the struggle itself, many lost faith and interest in religion and consequently in the desire to suppress dissent. Similarly, the right of political free speech developed in the context of efforts to change the internal power structure of nations. Although the French revolutionaries denounced the Bourbon monarchy for repressing freedom, the new republic soon turned tyrannical, instituted a reign of terror, suppressing not only monarchists, but republicans as well, as soon became a dictatorship. It took a number of subsequent revolutions and coups and almost 100 years before France developed a democratic republic, operating under the rule of law, that lasted.

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Drawing by V.Soldatov

The American Revolution was more successful in institutionalizing the right to dissent. Many of its leaders had a strong fear of state power, believed office-holders would, if they could, try to use the state to suppress opposition. Their first pre-1789 Constitution, the Articles of Confederation, did not even provide for an executive agency, a president or a cabinet. It failed, but the second and enduring one, drawn up in 1789, required the addition of a very explicit Bill of Rights in order to be ratified. The new charter called for freedom of speech, press and assembly, the separation of Church and state, and even for the right of citizens to keep and bear arms, as well as restrictions on the states' rights to arrest, try and convict people without due process of law.

The chances for democratic freedom are greatest where, as in the early United States and to a lesser degree in other western nations, the interaction between the policy and the economy, is limited. In the United States, the central state was not a major source of privilege for the first half century or more. The national capital, Washington, was a provincial small town and unattractive one. It did not become a major population, cultural or economic centre for many decades. There were a number of more important and interesting American cities than Washington. Hence, elites did not want to work or live there. Most Congressmen did not serve more than four years, refusing to run for re-election.

In northern Europe, conflict between the urban bourgeoisie who had an interest in a weak state and the rural based aristocracy and the monarchy resulted over time in the compromise of a freer polity in which the monarchy and aristocracy retained their status, while their opponents secured an increasing share of political power under institutionalized rules guaranteeing the right of opposition.

Yielding democratic rights has often proved to be a better way to maintain privilege than resisting them, although it is difficult to get old dominant strata to recognize this. Where the upper class refused to yield, as in Czarist Russia, the workers and peasants backed revolutionary intransigent movements.

Prior to World War I, the German Social Democrats were much more radical in the least democratic state of Prussia than in the western ones which tried to follow the political example of the more democratic western and northern countries. Similarly where the bourgeoisie resisted trade union rights, as in France and the southern European tier generally, labor organizations were revolutionary. Where unions were allowed to function more freely, accepted as partners in collective bargaining as in much of northern Europe, they were moderate.

The emergence of a large stratum of educated professionals, dubbed by the Communist world as the intelligentsia, has resulted in a new class who have a self-interest in freedom. The intelligentsia are a force for glasnost, openness, for freedom, not only in the Communist world, but in many less developed Third World states which have been dictatorships.

Freedom is a condition for the advancement of knowledge, and for economic development as well. In opening Soviet society to criticism, Gorbachev has let loose a Pandora's Box of free speech and opposition which has gone beyond his anticipation.

Inherent in all democratic systems is the constant threat that the group conflicts which are democracy's life blood may solidify to the point where they threaten to disintegrate the polity. Hence, conditions which serve to moderate the intensity of potential struggle contribute to the maintenance of freedom.

The characteristic pattern of stable Western democracies at the end of the twentieth century is that they are in a "post politics" phase – that is, there is relatively little difference between the democratic left and right; the socialists now accept the need to rely on a market economy, while the conservatives basically accept the welfare state. The left is somewhat more favorable to economic regulations, the right is desirous of reducing some of the welfare quarantees. But the differences are slight.

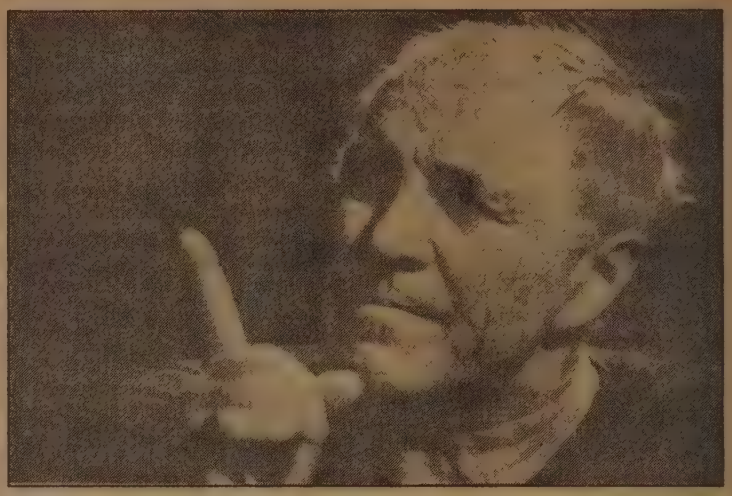
The situation, of course, is not as promising in most of the Third and Communist worlds, although many in these categories have made major strides toward freedom and the rule of law during the eighties. Given the existence of poverty-stricken masses, low levels of education and/or cosmopolitanism, an elongated-pyramid class structure (many more people at the bottom than the middle), the prognosis for the institutionalization of tolerance and democracy can still not be considered high. Educated minorities want freedom, the less privileged want a decent standard of living.

Almost all states, except for those in much of the still religiously fundamentalist Moslem world, accept democracy and freedom as goals, as their future, if not yet their present.

In Roman robes

The politically-minded Soviet theatre lovers expect a play about Caesar to solve today's problems

Neya Zorkaya



Julius Caesar-Mikhail Ulyanov: "I shall rejoice at endless cries of condemnation and praise..."

We have not noticed how much the mores have changed. It was only recently that liberal intellectuals indulged in listening to and singing the Soviet bard, Bulat Okudzhava's song about the decaying Roman Empire. The song, which was never performed officially, was filled with transparent allusions to Soviet life. Today the prestigeous hall of Moscow's Vakhtangov Theatre plays host to a 1000-strong audience holding their breath as they watch political intrigues and passions on the eve of one of history's most dramatic situations – the killing of Julius Caesar, a killing committed in the name of democracy, which, however, resulted in the end of the Roman Republic, anarchy and general confusion. *The Ides of March* by Wilder is this spring's box-office hit in Moscow and the Vakhtangov is always packed to capacity in a sharp contrast with the half empty halls of Moscow's other theatres.

Drawing a full house

The novel by Wilder has been produced in the Vakhtangov by the director Arkady Katz of Riga, who is taking Moscow by storm this spring and starring the uncomparable Mikhail Ulyanov as Caesar and other leading Vakhtangov actors. The intricate production fulled with monologues presents an original interpretation of today's topical issues of power, freedom, reforms, violence and ways into the future, the issues which are of paramount importance in this time of trouble and top-level confusion. The audience included the minister of culture, a presidential advisor, ranking officials, generals, etc., who sat there transfixed by the performance.

Is it another attempt to revive the pseudo-Roman masquerade so popular during all the upheavals of New Times? Karl Marx (who was not always mistaken) once noted that "the French Revolution of 1789-1814 took turns draping itself in the robes of the Roman Republic or the Roman Empire." In 1917 the masquerade was repeated as trucks decorated with red banners and revolutionary slogans carried across Petrograd, Russian editions of Roman insurgents liked by the revolutionaries.

The great and turbulent history of Rome provided the manking with models, blueprints and archetypes for centuries on nd. Each new epoch tried to make use of the ancient models. Roman robes, the proud patrician posture and the ringing Latin language have never failed to fascinate the generations that came after Rome.

Today, the politically-minded theatre lovers of 1991 marvel at the unique combination of colours and movement in Vyacheslav Zaitsev's beautiful costumes, follow the thought of the American classic who wrote the novel in 1948, eagerly watching for any allusions to the present day. The border made of gigantic ceramic fragments which surrounds the stage reminds us of the Kremlin wall. The discontent, conspiracies, alliances, intrigues bring to mind the current struggle of political ambitions. And the leaflets issued by "The Council of the 20" calling for the toppling of Caesar? And when someone suggests to Caesar that he deploys troops in Rome, for there is no other way out of the crisis, Caesar gives out a shrill "But this will mean civil war" – and sends the audience into a trance.

However, *The Ides of March* is not only an ancient drama filled with allusions to our present. There is something more to it, some secret, artfully captured from the very atmosphere of our life.

Nature, fire and water

"Why did you choose the assasination of Caesar as the topic of your new production?" "Were you deliberately looking for topicality, or is this topicality a product of the spectators' vision of the play?" I asked Mikhail Ulyanov, who plays Caesar and is also the artistic director of the Vakhtangov.

"We tried to avoid allusions. You understand that much in the production could have made extremely topical. But we wanted to make people think about the eternal values, not fleeting things. Mankind has been over all this already. Common sense or thirst for death, civil war? The common sense of Caesar warned, but it could not stop people.

We are playing a game of ideologies and interests and meanwhile the world is rolling towards a catastrophe. What is going on has already happened in history: wars, massacres. The only difference is that now everything is much more horrible. An arrow is one thing, but an A-bomb is quite different. We should not be looking for allusions and repetitions, but for a way out.

"You asked me about the message of the setting? The setting symbolizes fragments of shattered lives. And the red-black amphora above symbolizes what life could have been like. The setting has two components: the burning torches which divide the stage into two parts and an uniterrupted flow of water.

I think that this combination of such

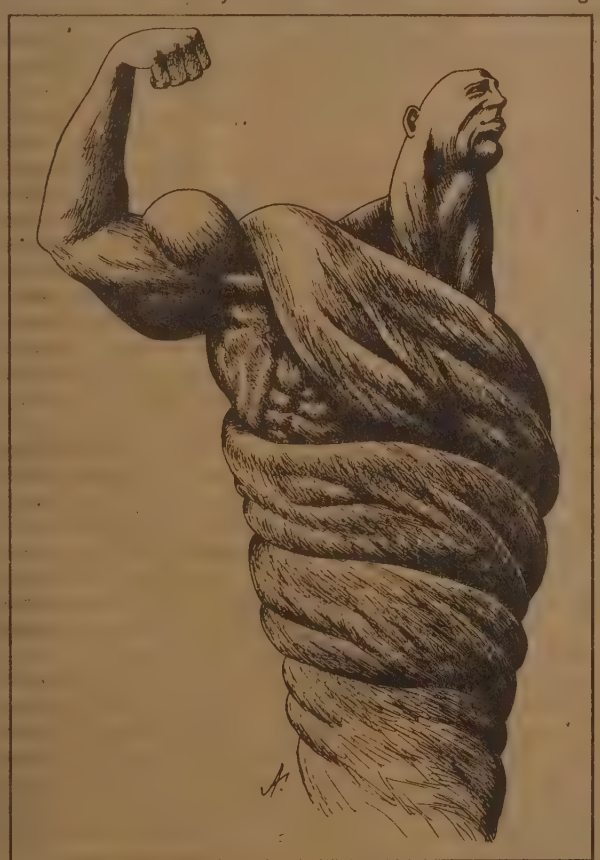
realities as fire and water with a certain theatrical abstraction produces the fantasy we play. Everything that is happening before the spectators' eyes testifies that Rome, Byzantium, the hordes of Genghis Khan and the great world wars are passing events doomed for oblivion. What is eternal is only fire, water and nature. In the performance Caesar says: 'Perhaps in the very last moment of my life I shall receive confirmation that everything that is in this wordly life is as senseless as this flow carrying autumn leaves.'"

"However, evidently this philosophical observation which replaces the thirst for topical allusions is not the main reason of your production's success and popularity?"

"It is difficult to guess what the theatregoers like to see today. It is very difficult not only for this theatre, but for all theatres of the world. We are resorting to extremes, we try retro and we try avant-garde, and we try musicals, etc. The paradox is that the three hits of the Soviet theatre are *Cabal and Love* at the Leningrad Drama Theatre, *The Prayer for the Dead* at the Lenkom and *The Ides of March* at the Vakhtangov. The classic Schiller, a strange story of a Jewish milkman and his family and the remote dramas of the Roman Republic. The question to be answered is why these productions are so popular today. I do not speak of talent, of artistic quality now, I speak of spectators' response. In our theatre we've got a funny vaudeville, we've got very good productions of *Sunset* by Babel, and *Zoyka's Flat* by Bulgakov (both plays by these outstanding authors have been barred from production for many years. – N.Z.). These productions have their audiences, but they do not produce such a sincere response. Why?

We are used to making a problem out of nothing: cybernetics, kinetics, ethics... What about man? Man lives as man has lived for millennia: eats, drinks, falls in love, suffers, gets ill, dies. Perhaps this is what attracts people most now? There are remarkable words in *The Ides of March:* "...and I shall rejoice, my dear Lucius, at the endless cries of condemnation and praise that people will be giving out in all times."

Today it is blasphemous to make merry and it is tiring to always show the shady side of life. We want to be shown something unintelligible, unattainable and unaccessible: human courage, kindness, wisdom, love, things which we miss so much. We are living in a world of exhausted, hungry, embittered people besieged with everyday problems, a couple of eyes radiating kindness is something that we rarely meet. Life the way it is – no matter whether you are Napoleon, or a poor Jewish milkman, or Caesar – attracts the people's attention and produces a sincere emotional response.



Drawing by Arkady Gursky

Today Ulyanov has equalled the civic with the human in his art. He is the Ulyanov who had started his artistic career playing the Bolshevist leader Kirov, who has played Marshal Zhukov, Lenin, Stalin, Richard III, Napoleon and a lot of Soviet characters – chairmen of kolkhozes and directors of large plants. He has always been accused of being insufficiently majestic. In his book of memoires entitled *The work of an actor,* Ulyanov wittily describes this habitual directors' reaction to his lack of royal majesty.

In his rich artistic biography Ulyanov has also played ancient Romans. In the 1960s he played the dissident satire writer Dion, a Vakhtangov production under the same title: the initial title of this play by Leonid Zorin, *The Roman Comedy,* as well as the Leningrad Drama Theatre production by Tovstonogov were banned, because, as I have already mentioned, Rome has always been under suspicion. Later, Ulyanov played Antonius, a soldier, an ambitious, tireless and impeteous politician conquered by his great love for Cleopatra. And always Ulyanov's characters are first and foremost human beings, however great or humble they might be.

Caesar is also played by the other characters and Caesar's personality is connected with his entourage by an intricate ornament of links. We are watching a drama in the highest echelons of Rome: intrigues, denunciations, rumours, love affairs – the whole bouquette of beautiful women from Cleopatra to the small servant, Caesar's unexpected confidante, entering various contacts with the truly irresistible Caesar. It never fails to fascinate me how Ulyanov, whose descent from the family of Siberian peasants is all in his face, manages to create the image of a proud Roman without a drop of make-up.

There is one more character in the play – the invisible one never appearing on stage, but extremely important for the message of the production. A Lucius Turin, the addressee of Caesar's most sincere letters in which the latter shares memories of their boyhood and formulates the most complicated questions about the essence of being. The actress Citharida also devotes her confession to Lucius, the mysterious hermit living on the island of Capri: a long time ago Lucius was taken prisoner and the enemies brutally tortured him, but Caesar managed to liberate Lucius when the latter was almost dead. Once again, the spectators cannot fail to make associations with today: a war friend or an old Gulag convict who never cracked under torture. Perhaps allusions are not at all bad if they help strengthen the continuity of generations?

Even the remotest past of mankind is connected with its present. ■

A slavonic holiday in Russia

A monument to Khristo Botev, Bulgarian poet, is being erected in the village of Zadunayevka, Odessa Region. Today monuments are usually pulled down, rather than set up. Poets and poetry are no longer held in high esteem. Relations usually called brotherly are broken off. There arise suspicion and hostility. If you say "Russian" in one-time sister nations, the word is understood as "Soviet" by many people and you can hardly expect kindness.

This year the Parliament of Russia passed a resolution, signed by Boris Yeltsin, on Slavonic Written Language and Culture Day to be observed on May 24. The anniversary of the Slavonic written language (which still unites the Slavs during these hard times of reforms) has always been a national holiday to many people in various countries. It is celebrated in Bulgaria, in honour of Saints Cyril and Methodius who compiled the Cyrillic alphabet and established the independent Slavonic Church. It has always been a holiday without specially formed columns of demonstrators, slogans with trite expressions or bombastic speeches signifying nothing.

In the USSR this anniversary was observed for the first time in Murmansk in 1986. Only several dozen people attended it. In 1988 it was observed in Novgorod, during the celebration of the Millennium of Russian Orthodoxy with thousands of people attending. After that it was observed in Kiev, on May 24, Saints Cyril and Methodius Day. Our magazine reported those events, noting that the anniversary of culture and written language should be observed permanently, just as the study of culture.

Today all of us – the Russians, the Bulgarians and the Slovaks – have become politicized. We even try to convert culture into politics. Politics begin overshadowing poetry. A well-known poet declares that the time for verse will come when harassing problems are solved, meanwhile struggle is the immediate cause.

The anniversary of the Slavonic written language acquires a special meaning at present. It has turned out that the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Bulgarians, the Byelorussians and the Slovaks were shackled, not united by ideology. Those chains have fallen off now. What next? Economic ties are being severed, too. A day for their re-establishment is really far off. Economy disunites us. We have our Slavonic roots and common culture, however. Can't they unite us? This question is answered in the affirmative in the Bulgarian Cultural and Information Centre in Moscow.

The centre was opened four years ago. Its goal is to popularize Bulgarian culture: music, painting, theatre and cinema. The anniversaries of the Slavonic written language as well as Bulgarian education and culture have been always observed in it, just as in Bulgaria where they also commemorate the great deed of the Bulgarian people who managed to preserve their culture and written language even under the Turks. In the USSR the anniversary is usually observed in cooperation with the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies and the Russian Orthodox Church. This year will witness the discussions of new type of relations between Soviet and Bulgarian artists and their social positions in the current conditions of East European countries. The public wil see films about the Slavic enlighteners Cyril and Methodius, Bulgaria's ancient history, Russia's role in preserving Bulgaria's culture and written language and about the coming of Christianity to Bulgaria. The concerts of sacred music will be given. A traditional children's festival will be arranged. The visitors will also be able to attend a photo exhibition of icons from various countries, showing Saints Cyril and Methodius.

"The Bulgarian people have retained this holiday through many severe trials," said Georgi Vatsov, deputy Director of the Bulgarian Centre. "To preserve our national culture and written language during the period of slavery was really a feat of morals. Today the Slavonic peoples should get rid of national nihilism. The Slavonic written language has united us forever. Relations of a new type should be developed on this basis. We can unite only through culture, intellectual activities and ethics. That is why we are bound to retain our unity at all costs, naturally not in isolation from other peoples. Therefore we are going, for instance, to hold a conference on the subject "The Slavs and their neighbours." In Bulgaria people see with increasing clarity now that they have been connected with Russia for centuries and that this unity should be strengthened. The Friends of Bulgaria and Russia Federation has been formed now. Its members include people of various political views, socialists and representatives of opposition forces among them."

The anniversary of Slavonic culture may become a source of national self-consciousness without a trace of messianic exclusiveness. True patriotism is love for one's ethnic or national roots, not hatred towards that which bears no relation to Slavic culture. "We Russian people have two homes: our Russia and Europe, even when we are called Slavophiles..." Fyodor Dostoyevsky wrote, "The Russians have already accepted the supreme of their greatest mission in future. It is a mission concerning entire humanity, a universal mission of serving the whole of mankind, all humanity, not Russia alone." Our current emotional bankruptcy might at last reveal to us the need of spiritual renovation. Then the Word will take the place assigned to it by the Bible: "In the beginning was the Word..."

Tatiana Chernova

I study in a Soviet school

New Times columnist Simon Soloveichik was the author of the series that appeared under the title *I go to school* and told about the ways they taught children in Swedish, French, Bulgarian, Czech, Argentine and American schools. Today we present an American professor's view of Soviet teachers and schooling.

Dr. Stephen T. Karr, Professor of Education and Associate Dean of the College of Education, University of Washington, has spent two weeks in the Soviet Union on the invitation of *New Times* and the Education Centre Eureka. Until very recently foreign visitors were only allowed to inspect the best schools, while ordinary ones were as hopelessly out of their reach as top secret munition plants. Today, when foreign specialists come to the Soviet Union on a routine working basis, we try to show them the most interesting and often debatable experiences so that we could discuss the problems of education together. Professor Karr visited different Soviet schools: well-known, ordinary and untraditional ones. In the article that follows he shares his impressions with *New Times* readers.

The classroom in Moscow school No. 1158 on this late autumn morning feels familiar: it could, with a few slight changes, be found in any of a hundred schools near my own home town of Seattle, Washington, in the northwest corner of the United States. There are tables and desks, a chalkboard, bookcases, a teacher and pupils. The teacher is leading a lesson on Russian history, specifically the principalities of Vladimir and Suzdal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The teacher is quite young, a philosophy major who uses frequent citations to major works of history and philosophy to illustrate the material.

Why is this lesson so interesting for me? Because it captures much of what I find promising, as well as what I find troubling, about contemporary education in the USSR. On the one hand, there is an obvious value attached to history and culture. Would American kids from an ordinary, working class school sit still for a recitation from history and philosophy texts apropos something that happened 700 years ago? It's hard to imagine it, and it suggests a further quality of Soviet schooling that Americans find impressive: education here is still something that is seen as having value in and of itself – it's not merely instrumental.

But there are problems here too: the relations between teacher and students feel formal in comparison to what I'm used to, and there's a powerful sense that the curriculum for the lesson I've just seen has been largely predetermined somewhere else. I find myself wondering if what they've learned will help them understand their country's problems, or enable them to address the enormous tasks of social and psychological reconstruction yet to be done here.

While I had been to the USSR on four previous occasions, most recently in 1988, and had written extensively on Soviet education, I wanted to have a good chance to look carefully at the education system. I had read much, and was fascinated by what seemed to be real restructuring in at least some parts of the educastional system.

I was particularly interested in the Creative Union of Teachers and its related organizations. These new, independent groups seemed to be drawing teachers' attention toward important professional questions; they helped to develop and disseminate new models, new approaches to educastion: Lysenkova's "surpassing education," Davydov's "activity approach," Amonashvili's "pedagogy of cooperation" and others. Also, there were apparently some school directors willing to take a chance on new thinking; such names as Tubel'skii, Guzik, Karakovskii and others were familiar to me. But was change really taking place? What was happening? That was what I came to discover.

Moscow School No. 734. Its director, Aleksandr Tubel'skii, has gone to considerable lengths to make his school a human institution, rather than a bureaucratic one. The school also tries to help students see that, for many issues and questions, "there are no 'right' answers." And there are serious efforts to enable students (and their parents) to act in a style of genuine democratic pluralism through a school parliament.

In one of the classes I visit, Valeria Mikhailovna Ozerova teaches literature to 10th grade students. They are reading Griboyedov's "Woe from Wit," and Valeria pushes the kids to think about why the characters act the ways they do and the nature of their human interrelationships. She also tries to have them read with expression, something few seem really able to do. Valeria reminds me of my English teacher in grades 8, 10 and 12, Katharine Stecchini, who remains firmly in my own mind as a model of pedagogical excellence.

In another corner of Moscow lies the new suburb of Krylatskoe. Not far from the subway station is School 1130, and here is where Sofia Nikolaevna Lysenkova teaches. It's a first grade class, and the 6-year-olds have been in school about 6 weeks. Sofia Nikolaevna's method of teaching and writing is to present each word, carefully sounded out, and to write it clearly on the board. The words form a simple story. I am amazed as she writes the Russian word "nachinaetsya," with five syllables and 10 letters, and most of the students manage to copy it. She assigns word problems for mathematics that are quite complex, and asks the students for a solution and their reasoning. The methods are deceptively simple: "What's so special?," one is tempted to think. Yet, there is much here that is special – the confidence in each child's ability, the warmth combined with high expectations, the care and forethought that have gone into every exercise, every part of the lesson. Most interesting to me is that this is a teacher who

In one of the Soviet schools *TASS photo*

has developed a method that has been widely adopted, who has written a book about that method.

But if some teachers are superb, it follows that there must be some who are not. I observed a number of teachers in a number of schools (no identifications, please!) who had perhaps once been enthusiastic about their teaching, their subjects, their students' learning, but who now seem to be reciting a script. "Who ruled in 1726? Where in the novel does one character meet another? Define the moment of inertia!" And the students answered – but also as if from a script. American cognitive psychologists have a name for this way of thinking and acting: "automaticity," or thought that has become routine, automatic, outside the realm of conscious control, "thoughtless" in the truest sense of the word.

How can teachers' pedagogical thinking be de-automatized and so become thoughtful, conscious, intentional once again? I saw an interesting example of how some educators are seeking to do this at a seminar in Ust'-Narva, Estonia, conducted by the Eureka Pedagogical Center, and led by Aleksandr Isaevich Adamskii. This particular meeting is called "Eureka-Avant Garde." It's intended for teachers who have already thought about their roles, and how they might do things differently. About 40 or 50 have been working here for the past two weeks. I visited several of the working sessions. In one, a teacher posed deceptively simple questions: "What is a student?" Some of the responses suggest why reflecting on such questions is so difficult, so essential – "A student is someone who learns what I say"; "If I let one child leave the room without permission, then they'll all want to, and what would happen then?"

Later, I take a long walk on the beach with Adamskii, a seminar leader. We discuss his plans, hopes and the problems he faces. The plans are amazing: there is the idea of constructing a "pedagogical Disneyland" in Estonia, a place to which educators from around the world could come to see methods and approaches in action. There's tremendous enthusiasm, a good deal of clearheaded realism about the difficulties, and also a lot of naive hope that, if the funds and resources could be pulled together, people would simply come!

I visited other schools in Moscow and Leningrad. In the school shop of Moscow school No.346 there's an impressive array of older but functional equipment for the students to use, I wonder seriuosly how much of a contribution these crude nuts will make to solving deeper Soviet economic problems. I wonder even more at the "lesson underneath the lesson" that this kind of activity teaches: "Make the nuts, even if they're not needed, even if you'll never work with this kind of machinery, no matter whether you'll work in a factory, an office, or on a farm. Just make the nuts."

The schools I visited in Leningrad were most impressive, perhaps because their emphasis on traditional, high-level academic preparation and selective admission seemed more familiar, more "American." The kids here are actively participating, and willing to do so much more easily than in any of the other schools we've visited. Partly it's because they know they're a select group, partly because of how the school nurtures them. The rooms, for example, are quite different from the typical Soviet classroom – no pictures of Lenin, or other "greats" of literature and culture, just a single picture of Pushkin at the front.

I had many other conversations with teachers, administrators, officials and intellectuals during my time in the USSR, and I won't detail those here. It's enough to say that I met few who were not concerned about the state of educastion in their country. As the President of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR, V. Kostomarov, put it at the meeting I attended at the Academy, "We all agree that the Soviet school is in a pit; we disagree on which road to take out of that pit."

For many years, Soviet education dealt with this problem by steering large numbers of students into programs of vocational training where they could learn some manual skills while earning what passed for a secondary education. Now, that solution is no longer socially or economically acceptable; people won't stand being "tracked" in this way, and the economy demands workers who are more flexible, able to solve complex problems using complex skills and complex devices.

This economic problem has a more important social, psychological and moral analogy: to participate in an open and democratic society, students must develop while they are in schools habits of thought that are complex – open, democratic, accepting of diversity, questioning and critical while also tolerant of opposing views, respectful of individual and social differences.

And that brings us back to the question of teachers, who they are, how they are selected, prepared, and the conditions under which they do their work in schools. Teachers who are passive, unquestioning champions of the status quo cannot be expected to educate citizens capable of building a new social order. I saw many teachers in Soviet schools who were struggling seriously with their own roles as educators, who were questioning old assumptions and old ways of thinking, and who were seeking to relate in new ways to students, parents, their colleagues. In their search for a new and reformed structure for schooling, they were acting exactly like teachers in my country, and in many other countries of the developed world, where education is now recognized as a national priority that has been too often ignored.

Soviet teachers, however, have a longer path to travel, due to the difficult conditions they face in schools and the equally difficult problems in the surrounding social environment. The intellectual power and moral commitment of the best of Soviet teachers are impressive. I look forward to the day when teachers from the Soviet Union will join more fully in the worldwide pedagogical community, for there is much that they can learn there, and there is much that we can learn from them.

Stephen T. Karr,
Professor of Education,
Seattle, USA

Hello, Russian Television

Tatiana Ivanova

All I feel like saying is: "Hello, we've been waiting for you so long, we're so happy to see you!"

The sceptics have disgraced themselves. Them and their predictions... "Funds will be raised, a rouble apiece... A television tower taller than the Ostankino one will be erected by a nationwide effort... Then another a-ruble-apiece fund raising campaign will be conducted, with the rubles to be exchanged for hard currency at the Rizhsky black-market rate... The currency will be smuggled out of the country... The equipment it will buy abroad will be smuggled back in... In five years' time, the equipment will be installed... The new television tower and its television centre will be fitted with the new equipment – and then we shall have Russian television." The sceptics who have disgraced themselves included me, I'm sorry to say.

Russian television has gone on the air much earlier than expected. It has been allowed to use the Ostankino tower. Indeed, the magnanimity and kindness of the legitimate owners are boundless. What's more, they have even given valuable air time, six hours in all. For the first four hours it's on the air when most people are at work. This is a most convenient arrangement: upon reporting for duty at their offices and drawn their food lottery tickets, people usually don't know what to do with themselves – and now they can watch television to while away the time.

The final two hours are given over to Russian Television. That's fine with me. You see, had I been able to go to sleep before midnight, I would have suffered from nightmares. Instead, I now stay up far into the night in front of my TV set, waiting for Russian Television programmes to come on. This spares me the nuisance of seeing nightmares, and gives me a chance to darn all the socks.

The Russian Television opening day was selected very fortunately, to my mind. Monday, May the 13th... That was a remarkable day, indeed: exactly four months before, the Vilnius Television station had been taken by storm, and armed guards were posted at its door. Exactly four months ago it became clear to the nation that television is inviolable property of the Communist Party and that the Communist Party feels free even to kill anyone who dares to touch it. In Vilnius, people were stupid enough to claim it. Naturally, they had to be scared off with tanks. After the news had reached Muscovites, they knew better than storm the Ostankino television centre. Instead, they marched to Manezhnaya square. Television belongs to us, they shouted, it was our money, earned the hard way at the factories, that has gone into building its facilities and into training its personnel... Let Russia had television of its own, they shouted, Russia is also a state in its own right, Kirghizia has television of its own, but Russia doesn't. Well, anyone can shout at public meetings. I did so myself. Then I came to realize that it is all very well to shout, but you try and fit Russian Television programmes into the air time schedule. This takes a lot of calculations. Every minute, even every second, counts... Nine months – a normal period of gestation – passed before the child was born. Well, now there is nothing for it but to set the child on its feet.

Alexander Ivanov filmed his programme, called "On the Funny Side," at the ZIL Motor Works' club. He filmed it way back on February 14, i.e. a month after Vilnius. It was in that programme that Zhvanetsky read out his famous proclamation: "Don't be afraid! Is our life really worth setting much store by?

Let us stand for freedom fearlessly, let us fight for it together, tooth and nail...". Later the proclamation appeared in *Moscow News*, I saw its xeroxed copies pasted up almost all over the city. It helped us screw up our courage to take to the streets, fearlessly of the troops, on the opening day of the extraordinary Russian Congress... Alexander Ivanov ought to be complimented on his programme. It is extremely witty, funny and artistic. It encourages fearless, united and determined action against dictatorship.

Since Russian Television has nowhere to film its programmes in, Ivanov did his "On the Funny Side" in a factory workers' club. I suggest he does his next programme at the Kuzbas coalminers' strike committee. In general, all the subsequent programmes ought to be done in factory clubs. Laughter is the best way to bring it home to the workers that party property is, indeed, inviolable, to give them an insight into the very essence of our laws, to prompt them what to do about those laws.

I wish the personable narrators of Russian Television did not conceal from their audiences the reasons for all too frequent technical troubles such as the picture getting out of focus, video and audio sequences failing to agree, tapes breaking, and so on.

Why don't they confess that so far all the equipment Russian Television has is a toy projector, that they cannot afford buying new batteries for it and that, as a matter of fact, the batteries are not available. The TV-viewers ought to know that all the other items of equipment belong to Central Television where Comrade Kravchenko reigns supreme on the President's behalf – to Kravchenkovision, so to say. Will any well-bred person ever dream of appropriating what does not belong to him? No. Neither shall we. Have patience. We've fished this microphone out of garbage heap, mended it, how's the sound? OK? Thank God! Just wait till we raise enough money to build a television tower of our own, then it will be different, and in the meantime please make allowances for our plight.

By following my advice the narrators of Russian Television would educate TV-viewers to love Kravchenko, Central Television, the President's decrees, Party property and its inviolability.

Although, I must say, they are already head over ears in love with all that.

I enjoyed all the first Russian Television programmes and I don't feel like finding fault with them. After all, I know about the toy cine-projector and about the second-hand microphone – so how can I possibly split hairs under the circumstances?

Death in Lausanne

In 1937, an assassination team of the NKVD's Foreign Department liquidated Ignaty Reiss, a high-ranking Soviet military intelligence officer, who had allied with the exile Trotsky in protest against the political trials staged in Moscow

Peter Huber

Born in Eastern Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in 1899, Ignaty Reiss joined the Polish Communist Party in 1919, and subsequently worked for the Comintern from Vienna and Berlin. In the early thirties, Reiss and Walter Krivitsky scintillated in Red Army's Chief Intelligence Directorate (GRU). They did not consider themselves secret agents in the present sense of the word, they called themselves **soldiers of the world revolution**. The October Revolution was to them the first shot fired in the war on social inequality and national oppression.

After Nazism had triumphed in Germany in 1933, Reiss plied between Paris and Switzerland, putting together bits of information on the Third Reich's military buildup. In the summer of 1937, after almost all the senior officers of the Red Army had fallen victim to the reign of terror, Reiss broke with Moscow, whereupon he was tracked down and murdered in Lausanne.

The archive documents, brought to light recently, disclose the methods used by the NKVD to recruit new agents in Paris. The records kept by the interrogator of Renata Steiner, an acomplice in the Reiss murder, are of special interest in this respect.

Ignaty Reiss: the hand of Moscow reached him

Stalin's discreet charm

The evidence given by Renata Steiner about the circumstances under which she had been recruited by the NKVD agents in Paris put policemen on a trail which led into the very midst of the Russian White Guard émigré community.

By the late twenties, thousands of those refugees had already abandoned all hope of the fall of the Soviet regime and resigned themselves to their hand-to-mouth existence. Many White Guard émigrés contemplated returning to Russia. The NKVD was aware of that. The Paris-based "Eurasians" organization which believed that Russia could work out its own salvation by opposing the influence of Western intellectual values, was one of the first émigré "well" the Soviet intelligence services dipped its "bucket" into.

The inquiry into the Reiss case revealed evidence implicating Vadim Kondratyev, 34, in the murder. Before Reiss' death Kondratyev had made a living as a bread peddler, a cab driver and a printer's assistant. He was a member of several émigré organizations, the Eurasians included. Asked by policemen how come that he could afford an independent lifestyle, frequent travels and even a car, which he had purchased in the summer of 1939, his friends were at a loss for an answer. After Reiss' violent death Kondratyev fled to the Soviet Union.

Vera Traill-Gutschkov (Vera Guchkova, in Russian), a high-society lady, played the leading role in recruiting Russian émigrés for the NKVD. She regularly shuttled between Moscow and Paris. A daughter of the War Minister in the Kerensky Provisional Government, she spent the twenties with the Eurasians and went over to Stalin's side by the early thirties.

After the murder, Paris police investigators asked their British colleagues to take a good look at the circles Vera Guchkova moved in. Presently word came from Britain that she had a reputation for being a charming and intelligent person whose political views, however, did not coincide with many of her friends' because she was a Communist sympathizer.

In 1935, Guchkova married Robert Traill, the son of a Glasgo industrialist. In 1934-1936 he mostly lived in Moscow and worked for *Moscow News*. Robert Traill belonged to the generation of English intellectuals who studied at Cambridge in the early thirties and then turned away from the crisis-shaken British society to take sides with the Soviet Union.

The fact that a person like Vera Guchkova, who came from one of Russia's richest bourgeois families, was free to leave the Soviet Union any time in 1937, when Stalin's campaign of terror raged nationwide and when those allowed out of the country were few and far between, suggests that she had high-placed patrons in Moscow and worked for the NKVD. After Reiss had been murdered, it came to the investigator's knowledge that Guchkova had received a cheque for 10,000 francs from Moscow and handed it over in Paris to the mother of Roland Abbiate, Reiss' murderer. The policemen comissioned to search her apartment, found Konstantin Rodzevich (the lover of Marina Tsvetayeva during her Prague emigration period) there. They caught him burning in the fireplace some papers which could probably incrimi-

Peter HUBER – a Swiss historian. The article has been written in co-authorship with Daniel Kunzi.

nate them both. The policemen detained Guchkova who, however, produced her passport bearing an undeniable evidence to the fact that on the day Reiss was murdered she had been far away, crossing the Polish-Soviet border.

Dissidents under surveillance

The Russian émigré organizations in Paris included "The Union for Repatriation" and "The Union of Friends of Soviet Motherland". From among their members the NKVD recruited "auxiliary agents" whose job it was to tail dissidents. Renata Steiner, a Zurich schoolteacher, was one of such agents. In 1932 she met some people who were close to the Communist Party, and in 1934 she spent six weeks in Moscow.

The evidence given by Renata Steiner, 26, who had broken loose from the tiny world of her parents' home, testify to the enormous appeal the Soviet Union had to people from all walks of life caught in the economic and moral crisis of the capitalist world. "I couldn't live at home any longer", she said, "because my father didn't share my convictions... I hoped to re-visit Russia some time, not so much for the purpose of giving a more intensive study to the problems of Communist policy as in order to learn more about the role Russian women play in public life."

Renata Steiner was recruited by the NKVD in spring 1936, in Paris when she applied, probably on the Soviet Embassy's recommendation, to the Union for Repatriation for help in obtaining a Soviet visa. The Union, reared by the Soviet Embassy, had library, offered a selection of Russian newspapers, and published a magazine.

In order to prove their loyalty to the new regime, émigrés wishing to return home, and people like Renata Steiner, were to render the NKVD "small services" which consisted, as a rule, in shadowing a certain group of persons. "He (Sergei Efron, Marina Tsvetayeva's husband) explained to me that those were people who had come over to Europe from Russia, and that my assignment was to find out what they were going to do in Paris and what their connections were," Steiner said.

Many of the assignments Renata fulfilled in the period of 1936 to September, 1937 – before she was arrested in connection with the Reiss murder – had to do with Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, who lived in Paris then. In summer, 1936, she was instructed

Roland Abbiate, believed to be Reiss' killer, vanished into thin air himself

Gertrude Schildbach-Neugebauer, a member of the German Communist Party and an old friend of Reiss, lured him into a trap

Sergei Efron, the husband of the poetess Marina Tsvetayeva. Western historians regard him as an NKVD agent

by Sergei Efron to shadow Sedov in Antibes, Cote d'Azur, where he was on holidays, and to record the names of his visitors.

Marina Tsvetayeva interrogated

Reiss' murdered succeded in fleeing from Switzerland to Paris. Investigation of that crime, planned and organized by the NKVD agents on the French territory, could reveal the Soviet trade mission's involvement in it – an extremely undesirable prospect for the Popular Front government then in office. After the murder of Ignaty Reiss, when the French press kept covering the progress of the investigation, Soviet diplomats persistently reminded the government of the Soviet-French Cooperation Pact signed in 1935.

At the end of September, 1937, the French police arrested, at the request of the Swiss police, the Russian émigré Dmitry Smirensky who had shadowed Reiss along with Renata Steiner. Now the police was, after other NKVD agents whom Steiner and Smirensky referred to as their leader. At that moment, the police commissioner in charge of the investigation in Paris was probably warned from on high "to tread cautiously".

The police commissioner was compelled to visit the Union for Repatriation – which Renata Steiner had described to him as an NKVD recruiting centre – in person and to inquire the staff about the purposes of that organiaztion. As a result, all those concerned were tipped off. Before the police ventured to search the premises, it inquired Foreign Minister Delbos in writing whether there were any diplomatic obstacle to that.

The file of the Reiss murder case contains evidence given by Marina Tsvetayeva to her interrogators. Tsvetayeva told them that five days after the murder, her husband, Sergei Efron, left for Spain when the Civil War was on. During the weeks when the murder had been organized and carried out, Efron had holidayed with her on the Atlantic coast "and never absented himself". "I am not interested in politics myself", Tsvetayeva told policemen, "but it seems to me that my husband has been connected with the present Russian regime for two or three years. My husband and I were surprised by the news of Kondratyev's fligt in connection with the Reiss affair... My husband and I have voiced nothing but indignation over this affair because we condemn any act of violence no matter who commits it."

It is difficult to suppress the impression that Tsvetayeva tried to establish an alibi for her runaway husband and described him in overly idyllic tones. At the interrogation she mentioned a certain Afanasyev from Grenoble, calling him a good friend of Efron's. That was the very Afanasyev who, in 1934, had recruited Mark Zvorovsky, Leon Sedov's secretary, who then kept the NKVD informed about everything Sedov did... The cue which the police officials unfortunately ignored lay in the following piece of evidence givend by Tsvetayeva: "Late in the summer of 1936, in August or September, I took my son Georgy, born on February 1, 1925, in Prague, to the Strangues, my compatriots who live in chateau d'Arcine, St. Pierre-de-Rumilly... The Strangus have a son, Michel by name, aged 25-30, a professional writer."

Policemen ought to have attached greater importance to this evidence.

According to Renata Steiner, Michel Strangue, a student at Sorbonne and an

NKVD agent in Paris, replaced Efron as a tail on Ignaty Reiss. For some obscure reason the police failed to act on this evidence.

After Sergei Efron's flight, two more prime Reiss murder suspects – Veniamin Beletsky and Lidiya Grozovskaya of the Soviet Trade Mission – managed to get away. Beletsky disappeared after the first interrogation, and Grozovskaya was released from detention on a 50,000-franc bail put in by the Soviet Embassy. Police records say that she fled to the Soviet Union without further ado.

The Rote Kapelle's predecessor?

In the late Reiss' papers, the Lausanne police came across the name of Moritz Bardach and asked their Paris colleagues to question him. Even judging by the examination record that journalist – who, like Reiss, was of Polish-Ukrainian extraction – had access to important sources of information about the "Third Reich" which probably made him one of Reiss' key associates.

Bardach handed over his information not to Reiss, but to Arnold Grozovsky of the Soviet Trade Mission in Paris. Judging by the evidence Bardach gave to the police investigator who questioned him, "Grozovsky was after information on the German National Socialists' home policy and on their policy towards the USSR. On the other hand, he would also like to find out how closely Russian White Guards and Ukrainian nationalists cooperated with German National Socialists."

It was for that purpose that Bardach had gone to Geneva in January, 1937, where he had a talk with Yevgeny Batsinsky, Chairman of the Ukrainian Club on friendly terms with Colonel Yevgeny Konovalets, the head of the Ukrainian military resistance in exile. In the spring of 1938, Colonel Konovalets was murdered by NKVD agents.

Thanks to Bardach's connections, Reiss had a source of information in Germany's Ministry of Aviation. The informer, Alexander Sevryuk, an Ukrainian Socialist in exile, had been one of the three members of the Ukrainian delegation to the Brest-Litovsk peace talks in 1918. He spent the twenties in Paris as a leader of the pro-Soviet "Union of Ukrainian Citizens in France," was banished from France in 1929 and secured an executive post in the Ministry of Aviation, Berlin, which he managed to keep after Hitler's coming to power.

Vadim Kondratyev worked as a cabman in Paris. He fled to Moscow after Reiss' murder

Vera Traill-Guchkova, the daughter of the Kerensky government's War Minister, was a suspected Soviet spy

Renata Steiner is also considered to have been a Soviet secret agent in Paris

Elsa Poretskaya, Ignaty Reiss' girl-friend, referred to Sevryuk as "a man of enormous importance to us." Although a bit disappointed, he remained rather well disposed towards the Soviet Union. Ignaz Reiss regularly saw him in Switzerland. After Reiss had been murdered, Moritz Bardach also gave evidence to police about his Berlin meeting with Sevryuk. He wrote to Sevryuk from Switzerland and last saw him in Brussels in January 1937, with Arnold Grozovsky of the Soviet Trade Mission in Paris present at the meeting. By virtue of his position at the Ministry of Aviation, Sevryuk must have had access to military secrets like Haro Schulze-Boysen of the same Ministry, who during World War II handed over the Wehrmacht armament plans to Leopold Trepper and his Rote Kapelle.

Swiss-born Hellen Hesse-Guggenbühl, born in 1909, was a messenger rather than a "hunter" for information. Before 1933, she had been very much at home in Berlin's Bohemia. A convinced anti-fascist without a definite party affiliation, she was eminently suitable for fulfilling the Soviet intelligence service's technical assignments (such as transferring information). According to the police, she was recruited for Reiss' spy ring in 1934, at the latest. She was used as a mailbox: being beyond suspicion, she received mail from informers in Luzern, Zurich and Bern and forwarded it on to Reiss in Paris. A police check of Hellen Hesse's bank account after the Reiss murder revealed that 300-350 Swiss francs had been entered in it monthly by one Pavel Lysenko (under an alias) in Paris – on the instructions, as it turned out, of Arnold Grozovsky, a secretary of the Soviet Trade Mission in Paris. After the first questioning, Pavel Lysenko, who had introduced himself to the police as a journalist writing for the Ukrainian paper *Narodna volya* published in the USA, fled.

Murderers escape to the USSR

No sooner had the papers carried the evidence given by Renata Steiner than Sergei Efron, Vadim Kondratyev and Nikolai Klepinin – all three from the pro-Soviet wing of the "Eurasians" – escaped to the Soviet Union.

For a while, Efron and Klepinin lived near Moscow in a Bolshevo villa (which had formerly belonged to Tomsky, an ex-member of the Politburo) and drew a pension from the NKVD. In the autumn of 1939, shortly after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, they got caught in the meat-mincer of repressions. Absurd charges of having worked for the French British and American secret service in Paris and then in Moscow before 1937 were brought against them... In the light of the Hitler-Stalin pact, that meant that they had intended to do harm to "our friendly relations with Germany." In 1939; Stalin, Beria and their closest associates probably planned to stage another show trial in Moscow, with the dock reserved for British and French rather than "fascist" agents this time. Those plans were cancelled by the German attack on June 22, 1941. Nevertheless, the NKVD agents Efron, Klepinin and Afanasyev, who had fled to Moscow after the Reiss murder, were doomed. Vadim Kondratyev, their "comrade-in-arms" in the NKVD, had died in 1939 before they were arrested.

Lidya Grozovskaya of the Soviet Trade Mission in France was arrested on suspicion of having been an accomplice in the Reiss murder. Upon being released on bail, she disappeared

Moritz Bardach, a Soviet secret agent in Berlin and Paris, had priceless sources of information in the Wehrmacht's top echelons.

Hellen Hesse-Guggenbühl, a "mailbox" of the Soviet intelligence in Zurich

Michel Strangue, mentioned by Marina Tsvetayeva during a police interrogation, went into hiding after Reiss' murder. It was only in 1947 that he returned to the USSR after (before that Strangue had been seen in Paris when he, "wearing the uniform of a Soviet Army lieutenant," helped repatriate Soviet POWs). In Moscow he went all the way to a history professor and died in 1968.

The fate of the only German woman accomplice in Reiss' murder – Gertrude Schildbach-Neugebauer, a member of the German Communist Party and an old friend of his – is now known. After her flight from Germany she fulfilled minor NKVD assignments in Paris and Rome. The NKVD group in Paris which planned Reiss's murder knew about Gertrude Schildbach's close relationships with Reiss and blackmailed her, threatening to hand her over to the police if she refused to cooperate. She was instructed to contact Reiss and make an appointment with him. An unsuspecting Reiss rose to the bait and in September 1937 got caught in a trap set up for him by the NKVD agents in Lausanne. Schildbach fled together with the murderers and, according to the latest Soviet sources, also found refuge in the USSR. In December 1938 she was arrested and sentenced to five years in exile in Kazakhstan.

Roland Abbiate, Reiss' murderer, probably died in action after Hitler's attack on the USSR. Charles Martignat, his mate, was sentenced by a Paris court to death in absentia in 1943.

Police records connected with the Reiss murder case found in Paris indicate – besides other things – that in February 1937, six months before committing the crime, both killers had gone to Mexico for a two-month stay, exactly when Trotsky arrived there... Shortly before their departurre, 100,000 francs were entered in Abbiate's bank account: the only source they could come from was the NKVD.

Rehabilitation denied

It was only 53 years later that the Soviet authorities mentioned the Ignaty Reiss case at all. The USSR Office of Public Prosecutor made the following reply to a letter to the rehabilitation commission: "Poretsky Ignaty Stanislavovich (Ignaty Reiss), born in 1899, was abroad on business. In 1937 he misappropriated a large sum of money, stole top secret documents and refused to return to the USSR."

This classical charge of stealing money and documents is followed by a legally correct argument: since no legal proceeding was instituted against Reiss, "there are no grounds for raising the question of his rehabilitation."

Three important dossiers connected with the Reiss case remain closed: his personal file in the archives of the Red Army military intelligence service (GRU) for which he worked; records of the NKVD's Foreign Department which sent out word ordering his assassination, and evidence gathered by the Swiss police investigators "the publication of which would be contrary to the interests of Switzerland's home and external security," to quote the Bern authorities' queer explanation.

GENEVA

■

An Interrepublican Translators' and Interpreters' Union (ITIU) was founded in Moscow. An umbrella for both Soviet and foreign translators, it was initiated by the Moscow Translators' Association. The Union aims to preserve and develop the traditions of the Soviet school of translation and to protect members' professional, social and other interests.

The founding convention also instituted an ITIU Fund to finance the Union's activities, develop iots self-financing divisions and perform other functions helping translators to their job adequately.

The convention instructed the ITIU Board to constructively cooperate with government and other agencies, as well as other unions of professionals and publishers' associations in tackling problems that face translators. The Union's strategic objective is to set up a major translation centre in Moscow, which wil engage in research and offer translating and interpreting services and training. ITIU membership presupposes high professional standards, which makes it essential to adopt a Translator's Code. Based on international criteria and norms, it will define translators' rights and duties, in particular the underlying principles of their relationships with employers, job quality, confidentiality guarantees, fixed minimum pay rates, etc.

The convention expressed solidarity with foreign colleagues working for the USSR and recommended that the ITIU Board form contacts with national and international translators' associations.

Introduced by
New Times analyst
Rostislav Zolotaryov

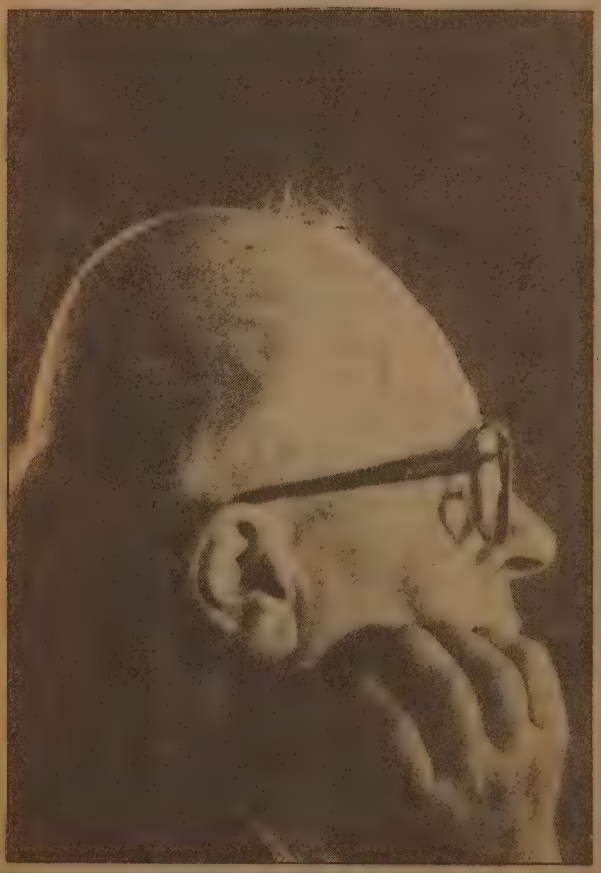
Andrei Sakharov's 70th birthday is a festive but sad occasion. It reminds us that Sakharov – Academician, a world-known scientist, a nuclear physicist, one of the founders of the human rights movement, a champion of peace and international understanding – is no longer with us and will never be. However, Sakharov lives on as the voice of our conscience. His whole life was a peace offering. This is precisely why the Sakharov jubilee is a reminder of our guilty conscience. He had interceded for us, while we his compatriots, with very rare exception, denied him support when he needed it most. He had been with us, but we hadn't been with him. He sacrificed his health and freedom for our freedom, for humane and fair conditions of our existence. We could only state our rights from time to time. Sakharov could uphold our rights. And worthily so. The Sakharov day is not his but our resurrection, our return to life from what is still vegetation...

The First International Andrei Sakharov Memorial Congress is now on in Moscow. On this occasion we have brought together excerpts from Sakharov's speeches and interviews dating back to the last year of his life. These excerpts are included in the selection *Anxiety and Hope* compiled by Yelena Bonner and brought out by the Inter-Verso publishers. We recommend this book to all our readers. ■

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

A flash in the dark

Andrei Sakharov (1921–1989)



Peace, progress, human rights – these three objectives are inseparably interconnected, and none of them can be accomplished at the expense of others...

In the world divided into two systems there exists what can be referred to as global competition in which there is the factor of mutual mistrust and the desire to keep up with – what's more to outstrip – the rival. To the so-called "real politicians" ecological problems appear to be a romantic dream next to this desire. It seems to me that the biggest danger facing mankind is its division into two systems. It is precisely such a division that can spell a thermonuclear or ecological holocaust... So far the two systems are coexisting, even peacefully so. Nevertheless, each is harbouring a grudge against the other. The wish not to lag behind and to outstrip the other remains...

Fortunately, the process of rapprochement is going on, to a certain extent. On the one hand, our administrative-command system – let's call it the Stalin system – has proved inefficient in our age of scientific-technological revolution and intensive economic progress. On the other hand, the capitalist system is introducing many socialist elements: the working people's participation in profit distribution and economic management. I could also mention the emergence of the state sector in the national economy and a very efficient system of social protection... However, the advanced capitalist countries' welfare system is much superior to ours. We are just approaching their welfare arrangements for the protection of the interests of children, the aged, national minorities and the needy... Elements of movement are to be observed in both systems. On our part, it's what we call perestroika. Perestroika is the movement towards pluralism, otherwise it is no perestroika at all, just words. Pluralism means convergence, drawing closer together, a real process which is already on and which is necessary...

There is a big difference between coexistence and national systems. Peaceful national coexistence is inevitable, of course. The rapprochement of social systems should be worked for because this is the basic problem of social buildup to which it is difficult to find a solely correct solution. It is possible only along the lines of counter movement, mutual exchange of experience – this is the sphere we ought to draw together in... The opposites should seek to meet – and messianism always amounts to extremism.

...It is precisely the possession of thermonuclear weapons by all countries – the USSR, the USA and other nuclear powers – that has been a factor in preventing the world from slipping into a new world war. Such danger arose repeatedly and there is no knowing what would have happened if there were no danger of mutual destruction. Such a balance is precarious – razor-blade, of course. And it is impossible to safeguard peace for too long on such a basis...

Now it is necessary to go over, gradually and very cautiously, to a complete ban on nuclear weapons, although I think that this cannot be done without a large number of strategic and political conditions. The strategic condition is the balance of conventional forces, which are to be reduced to the level of defence sufficiency, as the current phrase goes. The political conditions connected with a higher degree of trust and a deeper perestroika in the USSR. Perestroika should reach the stage where it may be considered irreversible. It seems to me there is no such situation as yet. We are in a controversial and dangerous stage of perestroika. Under the circumstances I think that all the interrelationships with the West should be arranged with a certain degree of caution, which especially applies to such a key issue as the renunciation of nuclear weapons...

Millennia ago human tribes stood a stern test for survival; what mattered in that struggle was not only the ability to wield a stick, but also the capacity for altruistic intratribal cooperation. Today all mankind is taking such a test...

About the responsibility of science. There should be the political and humanitarian-moral answer to any question. Mankind should find in itself the strength to avert the multiple danger – not only that of military destruction, but also that of ecological disaster, because everything has now intertwined into one knot...

The confrontation between religion and science is a past stage. But a certain stage in the development of religion and in the spiritual life of man should be gone through so that all this should be fully understood. How? I am far from that. I am a product of another epoch and of another world outlook... I think there is some inner meaning in the existence of the Universe... I am a pantheist, perhaps... Or rather, this is something different. The Universe should have an internal, non-material meaning. Otherwise life is boring. God is just synonymous to Nature. I do not think that man's place should be treated in the anthropocentric way. Whether he can stand in the centre of the Universe should be proved by man himself in the future. So far his behavior towards nature is extremely bad.

Economic reform brooks no delay...

How can we carry out a radical land reform with land falling into the hands of local government bodies and then in the hands of free civilized cooperators, as Lenin put it, if local government is under the pressure of the party-state structure not interested in a land reform. The only measure this structure has agreed to is the programme of bringing agriculture back to health by means of mustard plasters or, as I said in my speech, by reanimation injections into weaker links. Such a system keeps all the collective farms, the weak get their debts written off on account of the fact that the strong receive no support. No growth of production is possible under the circumstances. The weak will simply swallow what they are offered without giving anything in return...

I cannot call it (the superstructure of central government bodies) parasitical because it actually exercises government function and is actually in control. But this hampers economic progress and is inseparably connected with social injustice. The dictatorship of national government bodies is to be abolished along two lines. On the one hand, by way of a political reform, and on the other, by way of a national constitutional reform. In our case, it is not only the industry, but ethnic groups that are dictated to. A uniform structure of production is imposed on national republics, and the absence of independence in the provinces leads to disproportions, violations of social justice and hinders economic progress.

We have inherited from Stalinism an imperial system with imperial ideology and the imperial "divide and rule" policy, a system of oppression of minor republics and minor ethnic groups that are part of union republics, which for their turn became empires on a smaller scale. Such a system oppressed larger nations, too, especially the Russian nation which became one of the major victims. It has borne the brunt of our historical lot, of all the imperial ambitions, dogmatism and adventurism in our foreign and home policy – the people had to pay for everything...

I suggest a confederation. All the republics – union and autonomous, autonomous regions and national districts – should be granted equal rights, with their present territorial borders preserved. All of them should be given the maximum margin of independence. Their sovereignty should be confined to matters of joint defence and foreign policy, transport and communications – perhaps, something else. The main point – in everything else they are fully independent and on that basis enter into the relations of the union treaty...

Every republic will be inhabited, of course, by people of different nationalities, which should have – within the limits of the given republic – absolutely equal rights. This can, and should, be taken care of by the Soviet of the Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet which will ultimately correct, perhaps, the borders, change the confederation's composition, etc. Why is such a great extent of independence necessary? Because we are renouncing the imperial forcible unification and cannot... dismantle the empire partially. We have to bring about its total disintegration and then to put its fragments together into a new whole. The constituent parts of such a whole will be loose at first, the links between them should develop from zero, and naturally, of their own accord. Then closer ties will emerge – economic, political, cultural – but this will happen later. We should begin, I repeat, with the complete dismantling of

the imperial structure. It is only in this way that we can resolve the national question in the small empires, such as, for instance, the union republics like Georgia, which includes Abkhazia, Ossetia (South) and other ethnic formations. If we start with Georgia and change nothing in the Russian Federation grave problems will ensue. These problems will arise in any case, but if restructuring aimed at a confederation is effected simultaneously in all of the enormous country things will go more easily. It will become clear that a principle common to all, and a fair one in the final analysis, has been selected. In the sense that a large nation seeking freedom and independence will recognize equal rights for all. The system in question has to do with republics only... For instance, the republic of Nagorny Karabakh will belong neither to Armenia nor to Azerbaijan – it will be a republic in its own right free to enter into economic and other relations with any other republic at its own discretion.

All the citizens of the country will stand to gain from such a solution. As I see it, this is the only way to solve the nationalities question...

This, however, is hard to solve against the background of the complicated political situation and social crisis... This is a very dangerous and unstable situation where any dangers, any unpredictable or predictable but horrible, and tragic things may happen. That is to say, I do not rule out the explosion of the system in which tensions have built up to the breaking point and in which certain links have already raptured. I think that a military coup is possible in such a situation. A right-wing party coup is also likely, just as similar developments not involving a change in the country's leadership. The leadership may become a hostage to the forces which will use some levers or others, some personal connections, even threats and God knows what else. And then, without a change in leadership, there can be a swing to the right, all the more so since all power in our country is concentrated in the hands of one man who may come under inexorable pressure...

I am now in a wary mood. I am gravely concerned over the contradictory developments in our country. It is necessary to create political conditions under which people would feel confident of the irreversibility of perestroika. So that the people should be sure that if they take land on lease, no one will take it away from them in five, ten or twenty years from now. That no one will take away from them what they have earned by their back-breaking toil. It is necessary to lift all the restrictions imposed on glasnost. Glasnost should be absolute...

Our social processes come in waves and are borne by various trends. Nina Andreyeva's provocation has been repelled, it seems... But the forces behind this pseudonym remain in our society, they live on. The structure of our society is very complicated, and actually Stalinist. Although it might have had its beginnings before Stalin, and carried on after Stalin, it would be only fair to refer to it as such...

Power is the key factor, without taking it into account we cannot solve any problems facing the country – economic, social and others. Without the power of the Soviets it is impossible to overcome the dictatorship of the ministries. It is impossible to set up truly self-governing free enterprises. It is impossible to carry out a land reform – and in general, to pursue an agrarian policy which would differ from senseless and, as I have already described them, galvanizing injections into the unprofitable and moribund collective farms...

Here is my formula of the opposition. What is opposition? We cannot assume full responsibility for what the leadership is now doing. It is pushing the country to disaster as it drags the perestroika process for years. Over these years it leaves the country in a state of intense destruction. All the plans for the country changing over to the market economy will turn out to be unrealistic, and disappointment is already mounting in the country. This disappointment makes the evolutionary way of development in our country impossible. The only way, the only evolutionary option is the radicalization of perestroika. As we declare ourselves to be the opposition, we take upon ourselves the responsibility for the solutions we offer, this is the second part of the term...

You cannot be conservative in politics and ideology and progressive in economics at one and the same time... Economy is a stimulus, of course. So far, however, a majority of the Congress and of the Party and state machinery stick to that half-and-half structure, which to a certain extent adheres to the Chinese pattern following the removal of Yaobang... I think this way is impracticable in China's conditions. And in Soviet conditions, too, for that matter.

In this world, where we have emerged like a flash in the dark for an instant from the black non-being of mindless matter, our mission is to live up to the demands of reason, to create a life worthy of us and to work for our cause, even though it is vague as yet

I think that in China events of history-making importance have taken place. Because the question of democratization of the world's most populous country has a direct bearing on the destiny of mankind in the final count. And we here in another great country "next door" should proceed from the principles of internationalism and protection of democracy. And we cannot rank those who in the course of peaceful student and popular demonstrations demanded democratization, freedom of the press and a war on corruption, with those who have committed bloody violence to them, this was similar to what happened on April 9 in Tbilisi...

I think that **the army should not be a political force in any country. There is always a great danger when the army comes out on the political scene on its own.** When a war minister is a civilian, this danger diminishes to a certain extent. But the whole thing is to diminish the danger of military coups.

We have to bring the perestroika processes back to life... If it becomes common, a passive attitude to new processes may become pernicious. Much depends on perestroika in our country – both for our people and for the whole world. I have mentioned convergence. I really identify perestroika with pluralism and pluralism with convergence. Therefore I think that perestroika is an important chance. The last chance. May be not the last. One should never be as pessimistic as that. As a matter of fact, this is a chance for us – and for the whole world – to get out of the blind alley. This takes vigorous action in all spheres.

Pluralism is a way to democracy. A reformer has to be resolute. We have had more than our share of strikes. There have been strikes in the Donbas, in Vorkuta, in Lvov, in many places. But this is not of principal importance. The important thing is that the people have found at last the form in which to express their will and are prepared to render us political support. We have understood this over the week. And this support is not to be lost. Our critical passiveness would be the most precious gift to the right forces. They want nothing more than that...

Which way the army is marching

We are apparently destined to be buried under the ruins of our own economy but with the favourite motto of Russia's barracks: "If you want peace, prepare for war"

However, there was something new in Marshal Akhromeyev's replies to questions put by *NT* (Nos. 14-15, 1991). In order to stop the arms race, "a change of leadership, even a change of system in the first place is required. Thus, according to Marshal Akhromeyev, the matter boils down to the choice of priorities. But maybe the question must be put differently: what is the function of the army in general?

To my mind, since the time of Ivan Kalita the army was built not so much for defence, as for the seizure of Russian, and then alien lands. When the formation of the Russian empire started under Ivan IV, the second function of the army became evident – that of restraining and suppressing. Since the country was developing by way of capturing ever new peoples and lands, the second function rarely overshadowed the first one, perhaps only at the time of Pugachev. But it never became secondary and was not without reason that under Catherine II the entire country was divided into general governoships and the one who occupied this post was vested with unlimited powers.

Early in the 20th century the main function of the army was to keep the empire from disintegration and suppress people's uprisings. The army was the only hope of perishing autocracy. Without the army it would not have survived the 1905 revolution. But even today, I believe, we have found ourselves in a similar situation when the old system is reluctant to voluntarily step down from the historical stage, and the authorities pin all hopes on the army. In order to tie the army tightly to itself and cut off all possible paths of retreat for it, the centre and partocracy in the provinces are not fastidios in their choice of methods: from attempts to revive the oldest and the most wicked traditions, described by writer Kuprin, like accusing democrats of not respecting, insulting and defaming the army, to the striving to sully the army with bloody crimes against the people.

Deep-rooted in any social actions are personal, group or public interests. Soldiers and junior officers come to realize that their interests have little in common with those of generals and marshals. Even today a soldier has absolutely no rights. Even today the army is a self-contained totalitarian system. Herein lies the main reason of its internal disaster. Thousands of our country's young citizens desert it, thousands of them perish. Still more of them become physical and moral cripples. And up to this day no one bears any responsibility for this. So, when we are told that "the interests of the army demand" this or that, it is worth asking right away whose interests they mean.

The army brass hats are closely linked by common interests with the party apparat and the imperial centre. True, not every colonel is Alksnis and not every general is Makashov. But apparently it is in the interests of the top leaders to preserve the army in its present form, considerably strengthening its police function. Thereby the army retains its necessity. For 45 years we have been threatened with the possibility of a new war and only today people come to realize that no country is going to attack us. Today attempts are being made to convince the army that its mission is to save the country from all sorts of extremists, troublemakers and democrats.

Unable to stand enormous military expenses, the economy has already collapsed. And under these conditions the USSR Supreme Soviet has increased the military budget by another 50 percent.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

It should be noted here that soon after the civil war the state apparatus was reduced by more than 80 percent and the army by 90 percent from its previous strength of 5.5 million. Perhaps this was the reason why the New Economic Policy helped overcome the dislocation and the country moved forward with such an amazing speed.

According to US intelligence data published in this country, the USSR has started the construction of another four nuclear submarines. Each such sub costs so much as if it were made of pure gold.

There is only one way out of the situation. In the next few years the army must be cut at least by half. The development and production of new weapons must be reduced several-fold. Each soldier, officer and general should take a solemn oath not to raise arms against the people: its violation should be regarded as a crime against humanity with no statute of limitations. Soldiers should serve only on the territory of their respective republics, the only rare exceptions could be made when both soldiers themselves and the two republics give their consent. Barracks should be closed to political parties and open to democratic, humanitarian and human rights organizations; propaganda of dictatorshop, violence, chauvinism and religious fanaticism should be regarded as crime. Soldiers and junior officers should be given guaranteed rights...

If the entire system of education is based on the development and not suppression of the individual, this will ultimately lead from the discipline of sheer compulsion to a conscious discipline. Of course, the first thing to do must be to completely eliminate the entire structure of party political departments. In the future, but not before the establishment of strong democratic parties, a system of operating democratic laws and, what is most important, of strong democratic traditions, it will also become possible to set up a small professional army. But under the present conditions the only result of the formation of such an army, I believe, will be its becoming a firm support for dictatorship.

We cannot wait, as Marshal Akhromeyev suggests, until the system disappears by itself, because it won't yield its positions so far as it has a firm foothold represented in the army.

However, this process must be organized in such a way that not only society, but also the army itself should be interested in it. Demobbed officers must receive a considerable sum in compensation, a job and a normal dwelling. In general, society must show great concern for the fate of its citizens dismissed from the army. In that case this process will be fast and will not entail serious conflicts.

Kommir Krizhanovsky

One of the most notorious personalities of the perestroika age, the founder and leader of the Democratic Union, **Valeriya Novodvorskaya,** has joined the Radical Party (for the year 1991).

The Democratic Union headed by Novodvorskaya has always been disliked by the official authorities. Its members more often than members of other parties found themselves in the preliminary detention wards at different police stations, especially the one near Pushkin Square. Novodvorskaya herself has been repeatedly detained.

Neither is the Democratic Union supported by the Liberal Democrats. This is largely due to the statements made by the DU leaders. For instance, in one of her interviews, Novodvorskaya said: "Our democrats? These are poor, wretched rabbits who are asking boas to let them go, while the boas are eating them."

The Democratic Union has more often than any other political organizations been accused of extremism and intolerance. To this Novodvorskaya replies the following: "Intolerance turns into a drawback if it spreads to material relations, that is violence. And what has the Democratic Union got to do with this? Our intolerance is expressed only in one form: contempt."

Nevertheless, in March this year Valeriya Novodvorskaya stood trial charged with public offence of the honour and dignity of the President of the USSR and of the USSR State Flag. The court found it impossible to convict Novodvorskaya concerning the first part of the charge, since her actions and statements contained no obscene words. But as far as the second part of the accusation goes, she was sentenced to two years of corrective labour and the deduction of 20 percent of her pay.

As she was joining the Radical Party, Novodvorskaya proved that she was not such an "extremist" as she is usually described.

"This is a party of freedom and humanism, a party of conscience," she says. "I believe that Mahatma Gandhi, whose profile is drawn on the emblem of the Radical Party, was a great revolutionary and freedom champion. The nonviolence of the radicals is not a demonstration of their cowardice or weakness, but rather their courage and strength, since they give their lives for human rights."

Women victims of torture

Nevruz Türkdogan, Embarcament Taleb ould Husein and Maria Nonna Santa Clara are the names of three women defended by the human rights organization Amnesty International (AI).

Nevruz Türkdogan was treasurer of the Women's Association for Democracy in Turkey. While distributing a journal last autumn she and her husband were detained by police. Nevruz was 12 weeks pregnant. She was repeatedly beaten for five days. On the fourth day she miscarried and was taken to hospital. Although Nevruz demanded that those guilty of torture and ill-treatment be brought to trial, no action was brought against them.

In January 1990, Turkish police raided the headquarters of the Women's Association for Democracy and arrested several activists. AI claims that their interrogation included torture.

Embarcament Taleb ould Husein, a radio announcer in Laayone in the Western Sahara, was taken from her home by plainclothes police officers in September 1979 and has not been seen since then. She is one of hundreds of people who have "disappeared" in the south of Morocco and the Western Sahara, because they were suspected of opposing Moroccan rule of the Western Sahara territory. AI believes that many of the arrested are alive and confined in secret detention centres.

Maria Santa Clara, a social worker in the Philippines, was arrested in April 1989 on her way home from work. Later the same day she was seen shouting for help from a military jeep.

Military authorities have denied that they are responsible for her abduction. Her family, who were trying to clarify her fate have received death threats. An activist of Task Force Detainees, a human rights group in the Philippines, was reportedly detained and tortured in November 1988.

The torture of women, including rape in custody, is practiced in many countries. Very often women suffer only because they are the wives, mothers or daughters of dissidents.

Japanese **Kozo Nishino,** 65, has found a new way of leading a fulfilling life and enjoying good health even in old age. He believes that to achieve this one needs to learn to breath properly. The essence of his method can be expressed by the famous formula: "spiritus sana in corpora sana." He does not explain his theory and uses the term "ki," a mystical Oriental concept of physical and spiritual enlightenment, to describe the energy of life. According to Nishino, one achieves "ki" if one inhales and exhales properly.

Kozo Nishino started off as a medical student at the Osaka City University, but left medical school to devote his life to ballet. He achieved success as a dancer and even formed his own dance group, Nishino Ballet. At the age of 50, to the surprise of his friends, he began delving into Japanese and Chinese martial arts, in the pursuit of "truth in life." There he reached the conclusion that proper breathing will relax the body and realize to the fullest the hidden energy of life.

"Just think of the terms 'inspiration,' the act of breathing out air. By repeating the act of **inspiration** and **respiration,** exchanging energy of the inner with the outer, you will be **"inspired,"** meaning be stimulated in creative or effective effort," he says.

The symphony orchestra of the Moscow Philharmonic Society has received a new head conductor — 44-year-old **Vasili Sinaisky,** who replaced D. Kitayenko and, according to the contract, the first in the Soviet concert practice signed between an orchestra and a conductor, will occupy this post for three years.

Sinaisky is familiar with the orchestra. Upon graduation from the Leningrad Conservatory and the post-graduate courses some 15 years ago he came to Moscow, where he was lucky to assist Kirill Kondrashin, who headed the orchestra at that time. By that time Sinaisky had already won first prize at the prestigious contest of Herbert von Karajan's Fund and toured successfully abroad. He was the first Soviet conductor to have won first prize at that contest. In 1975 he became the head of the State Symphony Orchestra of Latvia. But 12 years later he returned to Moscow to become the Bolshoi Theatre conductor. His first artistic plan as the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra conductor is to hold an evening commemorating K. Kondrashin. Apart from that he would like to pay more attention to modern foreign music and the performance of rarely performed works by Soviet composers.

To begin with, Sinaisky will have to solve the most important problem facing him, that of the people. A mass exodus of musicians from the Soviet Union is now underway and among them there are quite a few musicians from Sinaisky's orchestra.

L. Dolgacheva

* * *

Like all of us, 43-year-old **Arnold Schwarzenegger,** closely followed TV reporters about combat operations in the Persian Gulf. In one of the reports he saw a military's all-purpose vehicle "Humvee" which he liked very much. Although it is adopted by the US Army and cannot be sold to private persons, Schwarzenegger managed to agree with the army authorities. But on one condition — the turret with the machine gun was to be removed. But even without the turret the "Humvee," which is a crosscountry vehicle, is indispensible in Los Angeles traffic jams in rush hours.

Some twenty years ago Arnold Schwarzenegger, an Austrian, appeared in the United States having won numerous international and European prizes in body-building. But America prepared a different career for the owner of fantastic muscles. He became a movie actor and starred in such movies like *Red Heat, Total Recall* and *The Predator.* Having become one of the most popular actors in the world, he changed his profession once again. Not so long ago Schwarzenegger became President's adviser in physical culture.

K. Shukhnov

* * *

When in 1979 **Andrei Patriki,** economist of the foreign trade association "Sovintersport," for the first time took a dart in his hands to hit the target made of sisal, he could hardly suppose that darts would make him give up his successful career. The

game which has been known to every resident of the British Isles from times immemorial of late started gaining popularity in the Soviet Union too. And it became Andrei's occupation.

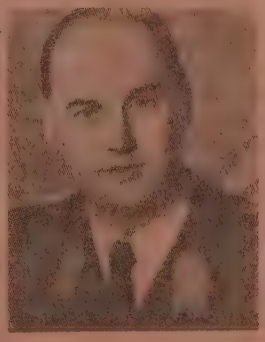
At present he works as the executive director of the USSR Darts Federation and at the same time is quite seriously learning the details of this fascinating sport. The 35-year-old athlete has made amazing progress: not so long ago he won for the second time the championship of the Soviet Union. The champion claims, however, that the skill of his rivals is growing very rapidly too. "At the latest championship I could hardly defeat the 128 contenders," he says.

The winner of the honorary prize plans shortly to meet famous dartsmen at an international tournament. And in his free time Andrei coordinates the activity of 40 odd darts clubs scattered around the country.

V. Anoshkin

* * *

A new general at the UN



52-year-old **Brigadier-General Günther Greindl,** who from September 1989 occupied the post of the military attache of the Austrian Embassy in Bern, had to pack his things and leave Bern. He was given a new assignment. According to the decision of the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, the Austrian General became the commander of the contingent of observers and UN troops in the area of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border (UNIKOM).

He is in charge of almost 15 hundred men, including 300 military observers, 600 infantry, 200 combat engineers, sub-units of pilots and military medical personnel. The troops' core is made up of representatives of Austria, Denmark, Nepal, Finland and the Fiji Islands. For the first time the observers include officers of all the member countries of the Security Council, including those from the Soviet Union. The contingent serves along the 240-km-long border between Iraq and Kuwait. The conditions are very hard: the border lies in the desert.

Greindl began serving in the infantry of Tirol and reached the post at the General Staff of the Austrian Army. He has a rich experience of serving in the UN troops. In 1979-81 he headed a group of "blue helmets" at the hot spot of the Israeli-Syrian border — the Golan Heights, and between 1981 and 1989 he commanded the UN troops in Cyprus.

Without dropping his main military duties, the General received a civil education: he is a certified engineer. His wife and three children are staying in Vienna.

A. Kovrigin
our own correspondent
VIENNA

Report from the hemp bush

A decade of struggle against narcobusiness has been declared by the United Nations. However, the shady dealers are not going to capitulate

Comments on the report of the International Narcotics Control Board for last year are made by its expert **Vladimir FENOPETOV** and **Gennady BABKIN,** a counsellor of the Soviet mission at the international organizations based in Vienna

Vladimir Fenopetov. The causes of the present thriving of narcobusiness lie in the economic sphere. Demand begets supply and vice versa. One gram of heroin at the clandestine market in Pakistan costs one dollar and in the United States, 1,000 dollars. One can hardly find another commodity bringing a 1,000 percent rate of profit.

Gennady Babkin. There is another aspect of the matter. Pharmaceutical companies throw on the market a lot of preparations containing plant and synthetic narcotics. More and more psychotropic means are created artificially. Strict protective barriers make it difficult for such means to reach the consumer in industrialized states, whereas in the Third World, especially in Africa, drugs get to the market without control.

New Times. The report made public by the board says that the organizations engaged in illegal drug trafficking continue to strengthen structures both in individual countries and at an inter-regional level. The coordination of their activity is increasing. They exchange information and channels for joint contraband. What are reprts from the "front" of struggle against narcobusiness?

G.B. Unfortunately, the world community is realizing very slowly that joint action must be taken in this struggle. We can recall here the abortive attempt of the United States to solve this problem in Latin America by acting alone. America is spending billions of dollars on the struggle against the narcomafia. However, it is unable to achieve a decisive victory or at least to assume the offensive.

Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Africa have recently joined the regions in which the narcotic problem has grown sharper.

V.F. The board notes in its report that the current political and economic changes in some countries of central and Eastern Europe considerably increase the flow of people, goods, services and capital within and outside Europe. This can be done by states which have not yet encountered the narcotic problem on the whole and are vulnerable to narcomania and the illegal sale of narcotics. In Africa, the narcobusiness takes advantage of the relative weakness of customs and law-enforcement bodies and of flaws in legislation.

Hashish – like hard currency

N.T. The section of the report dealing with the Soviet Union says that in the last five years the number of drug addicts has nearly doubled. About 1.5 percent of all offences are involved with the use of narcotics. Drug traffickers are beginning to operate in a more organized manner. The prospects seem to be gloomier.

V.F. The Interior Ministry estimates that the Soviet Union has 1.5 million drug addicts. In conditions of an acute shortage of goods and the depreciation of the ruble narcotics have become a kind of hard currency. As the Soviet Union opens its borders more widely, the flow of narcotics to the West is expected to increase. Our matreshkas (nest dolls) and even caviar and vodka no longer surprise anyone there, whereas quality drugs, and even at low prices, will quickly find consumers.

G.B. Our criminal world is looking for an outlet to the West, while the international narcomafia is attracted by our vast market. As soon as the ruble becomes convertible or a great amount of money will begin to circulate in the domestic market, "heavy artillery" will be brought into action: a spate of diverse and, at first, possibly rather cheap narcotics and psychotropic means will flow to the Soviet Union. In the end, I think, a more experienced West with its powerful industrial base will gain the upper hand while our narcomafia will play the role of an errand boy. In the near future the USSR may become a major narcotic producer, consumer and a transit route.

N.T. A special unit has been formed at the Interior Ministry to combat this evil.

G.B. What has been done is clearly not enough. An inconsiderate anti-alcoholic campaign has made a large number of people, especially young, turn to narcotics and psychotropic means. Relatively high prices for the "forbidden fruit" are so far a restraining factor. But the situation is likely to change soon. That is why a national interdepartmental body has to be set up to combat drug trafficking.

The establishment of an Interior Ministry department staffed with specialists, imaginative enthusiasts can only be welcomed. Not long ago Moscow asked the United Nations to conduct an experiment in the Chu River valley, namely, to find methods of destroying the infinite hemp bush there. There are also promising signs in the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts. The international association Patriarch expressed its readiness to accept for treatment 500 Soviet drug addicts of any

For a long time narcotics could be bought in a canteen at the Danilovsky market, not far from the centre of Moscow

age, nationality and religious faith. The association is prepared to defray all the maintenance costs in its 200 centres all over the world. The Soviet authorities concerned should pay only the travel expenses. The proposal of this kind was sent to Moscow at the end of last year.

N.T. The board notes in its report that the illegal manufacture and trafficking of narcotics have lately been accompanied by an "escalation of violence." What is implied?

V.F. The events in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia provide a concrete example of how the underhand dealers, who have grown fabulously rich on drug traficking, seek to gain political power or at least the possibility to influence it. Those who resist their attempts are assassinated.

G.B. The connection between violence and narcotics can be clearly traced in Afghanistan. Millions of refugees who settled along the Afghan-Pakistani border had to be fed, clothed and supplied with arms. Where to find the wherewithal? Narcobusiness proved to be the most simple and profitable means. The region has benign natural conditions and surplus labour. A great number of poppy plantations and processing laboratories have appeared there. It is estimated that the annual income from narcotics reaches two billion dollars. A considerable portion of it goes on military purposes.

What's in vogue: ice or crack?

N.T. What do you think about the idea of "legalizing" narcotics?

V.F. This question is discussed more and more actively in some West European countries. In Holland, for instance, soft narcotics can be bought and tasted in cafés. Most often they are made from cannabis, which is known in the Soviet Union as hashish. Some people argue that it is better to allow such use of narcotics publicly than to drive the evil underground. One important circumstance is ignored, however. As a rule, soft narcotics are gradually replaced by strong ones.

G.B. One can treat with understanding ritual smoking which goes millennia back. However, when this tradition spread in town and became simply the desire to enjoy kaif, it is hardly appropriate to talk about some ritualism, the culture of smoking. It is sheer narcomania. This vogue has passed now. Today narcotics are used mainly by poor Americans, coloured people. I agree with the opinion of my colleague that soft narcotics most probably lead to strong ones.

N.T. What about the abortive experiment with the "dry law" in America?

G.B. Narcotics cannot be equated with alcoholic drinks. The latter also destroy the physical and spiritual world of man, but much slower than the former.

N.T. What is especially popular with drug addicts now?

G.B. The latest fancy is ice, which has somewhat ousted crack. Both are derived from cocaine, though they look different outwardly. Crack is white powder inhaled through the nose. Ice, called so for its likeness to ice cubes, is more suitable to use. It can be stirred in a cup of tea or juice or simply dissolved in the mouth.

V.F. Crack and ice are now ousting from the market such traditional narcotics as opium and heroin. They are considerably cheaper. Those who tasted crack or ice will not return to former narcotic drugs, because the sensation is weaker. These fashionable narcotics are dangerous for the depth of their impact. The amplitude of their effect is much higher but less long than in the case of heroin. This impels a drug addict to use them more often. The destruction of the human organism proceeds even quicker. The Soviet underground market does not yet know crack or ice as well as heroin, cocaine or LSD. It would be better if these narcotics never appeared in our country.

Global system of detection

N.T. Psychotropic agents are mentioned more often now, especially in connection with the activity of special services. Are they so terrible?

V.F. Psychotropic agents can make man lose his memory and talk and do what he would never have said or done in a normal condition. They can influence both the individual and the masses of people. For instance, they can enhance the morale of the army and demoralize the defending troops. Unlike plant narcotics, psychotropic agents have an aimed effect, so to speak, affecting functions of the central nervous system. They are divided into two large groups: stimulants and depressants. The well-known soporific, luminal, for instance, refers to the group of depressants.

N.T. The report says about the creation of a global system of detection of plantations of illegally grown narcotic-containing plants with the aid of remote sounding from space. Is space photography meant?

G.B. Yes, though it is very expensive. Neither the USSR nor even the USA can cope with this task alone. The Soviet Union has worked out proposals which will possibly be taken into account in UN anti-narcotic programmes. There are plans of starting space photography from Afghanistan and Pakistan, that is, regions where ground observation is difficult to conduct.

The contents of the pockets of an arrested man. The puzzle was probably solved by smoking a cigarette containing marijuana

Interviewer **Anatoly Kovrigin**
our own correspondent
VIENNA
Photos from TASS

Every car has its day

Our society's attitude to the Zaporozhets cars goes to show that democratic tendencies are gaining momentum

Watching my car in this troubled and unstable period of our history – but a history-making one, nevertheless, I have come to the conclusion that the Zaporozhets' role and significance in, and influence on, our society have markedly grown.

I own a Zaporozhets. Not a "bug" or a "bat", but an 968–M with "gills" (not to be mixed up with a Tavria). Well, as I watched it, I made a number of discoveries which came as a surprise to me.

First of all, I realized – and this made me optimistic, a quality so important nowadays – that we in this country do have eternal values, after all. They may get rusty if not taken good care of, they may gather dirt if not washed from time to time, but otherwise they remain intact and strong like tank armour in the fragile flow of traffic. It doesn't matter much that these values owe their form (I am not going to discuss their content here) to our grandfather who "styled" in the happy moment when he took some time off his regular job of assembling tractors. It is a joy that the price of these values keeps climbing up. The grandfather has made them, although they are not much to look at and rather primitive, but sturdy; built by the grandfather to suit the needs of his time, they still look amazingly utilitarian even by the present standards.

Although styled by the grandfather, the specimen I drive has been born of perestroika – that is to say, it is perestroika's junior by just a year. Over the time I spent with the vehicle I have realized that it constitutes the very ideal the Soviet socialist community has been advancing to for so long. No matter what violence you do to it, no matter how badly you treat it, no matter how hard you may try to break it, the little car keeps running. This is its most amazing quality, especially so now in our troubled times, against the background of our political instability and economic crisis. Whether the gasoline you fill its tank with is high- or low-grade; whether you embellish it or not; whether you think about it at all or forget all about it, it takes everything for granted. My car is an embodied idea in action.

It is only now that I can talk about the thing for hours. When I first climbed into it, however, I could not give full justice to what we have created. Incidentally, its nickname, Karochka, thought up by my mother then, has stuck ("You can't very well call the thing 'a car,' can you?" she reasoned).

One day I shall probably instal it in front of my editorial office like a monument and inscribe on it the names of all those whom Karochka has ever blessed with the joy of a fast ride: Academicians and American fighters for human rights in the Soviet Union, British lords and deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, members of the Democratic faction of the Russian Parliament and members of the CPSU – individuals and mixed groups. Amazingly, they never engaged in any political or ideological disputes when squeezed into my tiny vehicle's back seat. On a jolty ride one had better not waste his breath. I drew the conclusion thereof that all of us Soviet people can arrive at a temporary unity if not at a full consensus. In general, I have noticed that the posture (or rather the state) caused by the Zaporozhets back seat is becoming increasingly universal with us irrespective of what sort of cars one rides in – a Volga or roomy air-conditioned ZIL.

Besides that, Karochka has made it clear to me what an impressive progress we are making, how quickly we are getting rid of our old bureaucratic practices, and how our mode of thinking and behaviour is changing. I keep the memories of the cold winter day when I was the only one to have driven to work – none of my colleagues could start up their cars – and when I had to give my boss a ride home. I remember my fellow journalists' reaction to that: they suggested I painted my Karochka an executive black, for the sake of appearances at least. Last winter, however, no one seemed to mind my jalopy's "pale complexion." We are getting rid of our servility and our excessive respect for rank.

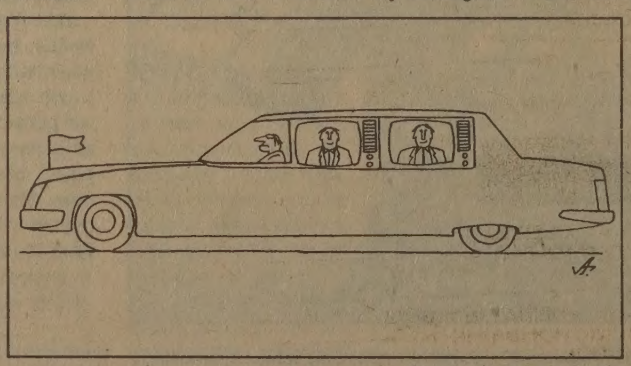
As I attached the placard saying "Press. New Times" to my Karochka, the passers-by positively scowled at me. I should never have ventured anything like that in pre-perestroika times.They would have accused me of poking fun at the mightiest propagandist and agitator.

At once I got a kick of parking the car right in front of the editorial office's door. There was nothing funny about that, as I realized later, I simply did it out of spite, like a proletarian who has been waken up too early. But the habit remained. What's more, our constant irritation at the powers-that-be has superimposed itself on it. It is with malicious joy that I now park my Karochka near the main entranceway of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or of 27, Kalinin Avenue... Let everyone who comes out of those offices see its froggish bulging eyes of headlights and the wry grin of its dented bumper: "Don't like the looks of me, eh? Well, you'll have to put up with me, partner."

The only place I couldn't screw up my courage to park it in was the Vassilyevsky lane near the Kremlin. It's just a hundred metres or so from the Mausoleum, I told myself, a holy of holies. One day I made up my mind and did park it there, after all. Since then the Karochka often waits for me on the Red Square on a par with others.

What happened the other day came as the biggest shock to me of all. I made an appointment to interview someone in the CPSU Central Committee building on Staraya Square, and eked out the last bit of speed out of my Karochka to get there on time. Having no parking space in the vicinity of the building, I drove up to a militiaman, told him the name of the person who was waiting for me, and asked where I could park the car. "This way," he said, waving me on to a VIP parking lot...

As I climbed out of the Karochka and locked its door, I thought wistfully that it had probably reached the peak of its political career. Before I crossed the threshold of the grey building I looked back over my shoulder... My God, didn't it look proud to be in the company of all those black giants! It looked as if it had been elected a member of the CPSU Central Committee's exclusive automobile club!



Drawing by Arkady Gursky

Irina Lagunina

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